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ART. I.—HENRY THE THIRD AND THE  
CHURCH.

*Henry the Third and the Church.* A Study of his Ecclesiastical Policy and of the Relations between England and Rome. By ABBOT GASQUET, D.D. Pp. xvi.-418. George Bell and Sons.

AT the close of the pontificate of Innocent the Third two island kingdoms, England and Sicily, both dominated by descendants of Norman conquerors, acknowledged the overlordship of the Holy See; Sicily since the days of Robert Guiscard and Gregory VII., England by the recent act of John. In both islands the Crown was secured to an infant prince by the strenuous exertions of the Pope. Frederick the Second, son of the Emperor Henry the Sixth, and destined himself to succeed to the empire, recognised Innocent the Third as his benefactor. Henry the Third, son of John, spoke but the literal truth when he said to Bishop Grosseteste, "When, whilst still young in age, we were deprived of our father, with our kingdom not only turned from us but even fighting against  
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us, our mother, the Roman Church, through the Lord Cardinal Gualo, then Legate in England, brought back the kingdom to peace and subjection to us, and consecrating us king, crowned us."

The history of the recompense which the Holy See received at the hand of its wards is the history of Europe during the reign of Henry the Third. Frederick the Second repaid the Popes Honorius the Third, Gregory the Ninth, and Innocent the Fourth with unrelenting hostility. He sided with the Saracens against Christian Europe, imprisoned legates, laid waste the patrimony of Peter, and drove the Pope into exile at Lyons. Excommunicated in 1245 at the Council of Lyons, he died in 1250, hated by all and leaving a legacy of disorders and civil war in Sicily that lasted till the invasion of Charles of Anjou, 1266. It was to the other ward and to the other island that the Holy See looked for support throughout these troublesome times, and not in vain ; and when a new ruler was required for Sicily, Innocent the Fourth conceived the idea of uniting Sicily and England by the tie of blood in the person of Edmund, son of Henry the Third.

The Popes, despoiled of their lands and without means of rewarding their followers, claimed from England financial support and benefices for those who had served them. In principle this claim was just ; but in practice the exactions of the legates, the abuse of provisions, aggravated by the weakness of Henry the Third, and the rapacity of the Provençals and Poitevins who traded on his weakness, not only impoverished the clergy and people, but led to endless disputes, appeals and excommunications, and finally plunged the country into civil war.

Out of these troubles, involving so many quarrels with and grievances against the Romans and the Holy See, prejudiced historians have too often made capital, as if, forsooth, these were the normal results of the mediæval papal system. We owe therefore a debt of gratitude to the author of *Henry the Third and the Church* for casting the light of critical enquiry into these dark places of our history. "*Juvat integros accedere fontes,*" is his motto : and the full light is found here, as ever, to dispel many of



the difficulties, or what appeared to be such in the half light of historical obscurity. "My endeavour," he tells us, "in this volume has been to state the facts as far as possible in the language of the old chronicles, and of the letters and other documents of the reign." The reader is invited to go to the original documents. But what they are he is supposed to know or is left to guess from the references: many readers will regret the absence of a preliminary notice of the sources and materials from which the author has drawn.

Although the work throws much light upon controverted points it is by no means controversial. It is rather a picture of the English Church in conflict, drawn from the records of the past; and if an impression may be hazarded, the picture is Rembrandtesque. The shadow is very deep—"No light, but rather darkness visible." The English Church groans under the strain it is called upon to bear. What with the demands of Pope and King, the bishops declared that they were "between the upper and nether mill stone." At the Council of Lyons the English complained that "the Italians are receiving 60,000 marks yearly from English benefices—a sum greater than the annual revenue the king has to spend on the government of the kingdom." Moreover, the good understanding between King and Pope generally resulted in further pressure on the Church. Then there were the legates, envoys and collectors who seldom went away empty-handed. Worse still, they brought in their train Italian and Jewish money-lenders to supply the ready cash, leaving the clergy and monks burdened with crushing debts. So that it might seem that the Scripture was fulfilled, "That which the palmer worm left, the locust hath eaten; that which the locust hath left, the bruchus hath eaten; that which the bruchus hath left, the mildew hath destroyed." Papal provisions raised even louder complaints than papal taxation. In 1232 (p. 132) laymen who had the right to present to benefices organised a campaign throughout the country against the Romans, pillaged their barns and sold their contents or gave them to the poor. In 1239 the barons sent Twenge, the moving spirit of this active

resistance, as their representative to Pope Gregory the Ninth. They tell him "the ship of liberties won by the blood of their forefathers seems to be threatened more than ever by the stress of storms. They consequently feel constrained to wake the Lord, who is sleeping in the bark of Peter, loudly calling with one voice, 'Lord, save us ; we perish.'" In this case their petition in favour of rights of lay patrons was successful : but in spite of the concession and the deprivation in 1234 (p.157) of all Roman clerics beneficed in England, in spite of a formal protest at the Council of Lyons (1245), the abuse went on increasing, till Bishop Grosseteste refused point blank to institute the nephew of Innocent the Fourth to a canonry at Lincoln, "out of the love of the union with that See in the body of Christ—in a filial and obedient spirit I do not obey ; I refuse and I rebel."

These were but the beginnings of sorrows. The conflicts between the regulars and seculars, with the resultant excommunications and counter-excommunications, appeals and counter-appeals ; the weakness of electors and the unworthiness of the elect ; provide reading so painful that one is tempted to lay down the story in disgust. Even to this we must add the load of evils brought in the train of the Poitevin followers of Peter des Roches, the provençal relations of Henry's queen, and the kinsfolk of his own half-brothers, the sons of Isabella. Of Aylmer of Valence, thrust into Winchester by the King's partiality for his family, the English declared "it is the fixed determination and desire of everyone that he, the author of divisions and scandals, be no longer allowed to live amongst us." Though the private life of Boniface of Savoy was without reproach, his election to Canterbury was a national disaster, occurring as it did just before the barons' rebellion, when an Englishman such as Langton was needed to guide the nobles in their struggle against the foreign advisers of Henry the Third.

One ray of light illumines the face of the English Church—its touching loyalty to the See of Peter : not the slightest indication is there that England doubted the prerogatives of Peter. And certainly if the author had

found such, no consideration would have allowed him to withhold it. Nothing like William of Ockam's attack on the Avignon Popes is to be found here; and more wonderful still, those who are most strenuous in opposing abuses are most devoted in their loyalty to Peter. When Henry the Third expressed his astonishment to Grosseteste that he had ventured to demand the tallage for the Pope in his own diocese and on his own initiative, this was his answer: "The wonder is not that I and my fellow bishops have done what we have, but it would be more to be wondered at, and our conduct would be deserving of the greatest reprobation if, even had we not been asked and bidden, we had not done something and even more than we have. For we see our spiritual father and mother (whom we are incomparably more bound to honour, obey and reverence, as well as to assist in their needs, than we are our natural parents) driven into exile, on every side attacked by persecutions and tribulations, despoiled of all patrimony, and not having the proper and fitting means of support." Again he writes to Pope Innocent the Fourth: "On my return to England I met the King coming back from Wales, and had some private conversation with him. When amongst other things I had, in my fashion, spoken a few gentle, persuasive words about the obedience, fidelity and devotion to be shown to your Holiness and to the Holy Roman Church, and about the need of supporting it, firmly and constantly, especially now that some are endeavouring—by God's help vainly—to disturb its tranquility, he answered me in this fashion: 'Lord Bishop, we intend, as we ought, to guard untouched all that belongs to our crown and royal estate. We desire that in this the Lord Pope and the Church should assist us. You may take it for certain that we shall show and observe, entirely and always, obedience, fidelity and devotion to the Lord Pope as our spiritual father, and to the Roman Church as our spiritual mother, and that we will firmly, constantly and truly abide by them in prosperity and adversity. The day when we shall not do all this, we will give our eyes to be plucked out and our head to be cut off.'"

On St. Edmund as Archbishop the author has a pronounced opinion which, contrary to his rule, he hardly disguises; and his view differs considerably from that of the modern biographers of St. Edmund. Two chapters are devoted to this subject. Of these, the chapter entitled "St. Edmund as Archbishop" is the more important, and contains an account of the quarrel with the monks and the author's reflections on St. Edmund's rule. No new facts are adduced nor are the MSS. authorities weighed and compared; in fact in two chapters there is hardly room for a detailed treatment of such intricate points as are involved. On the broad issues St. Edmund is judged and condemned to the rank of pontiffs of whom Pope St. Celestine is the chief.

A hard verdict which the clients of St. Edmund will accept with bad grace; but while admitting the competency of the historian they will do well to consider both sides of the evidence before finally admitting the justice of the verdict. Even a first reading shows certain flaws, and, if I may say so, a little want of consideration of the evidence upon which the biographers have based the until now accepted view.\*

In the very first count of the indictment there is a flaw. The monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, claimed "that it was their undoubted privilege to have the consecration of any suffragan of Canterbury carried out in the metropolitan cathedral under their charge." The existence of this privilege was undoubtedly known to St. Edmund, as it was granted by St. Thomas in his celebrated charter of liberties, which made "the common consent of the whole chapter of the monks of Canterbury necessary for the consecration of

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\* Dr. Lingard (*History of England*, vol. ii. chap. vi.) takes very much the same view as Dr. Gasquet of St. Edmund's episcopate. "He (St. Edmund) felt that the timidity of his conscience would not suffer him to acquiesce in the disorders of his age, and that the gentleness of his temper had not fitted him for the stern office of a reformer. Experience justified his apprehensions: many disapproved of his zeal; and the monks of his own church, the ministers of the Crown, and even the Pontiff himself, often opposed, occasionally defeated, his well-meant endeavours." But before accepting his judgement on St. Edmund of Canterbury it is well to notice his verdict on St. Thomas of Canterbury: "Thus at the age of fifty-three perished this extraordinary man, a martyr to what he deemed to be his duty—the preservation of the immunities of the Church" (vol. ii., chap. iii., sixth edition).

any suffragan elsewhere than in the cathedral church." At the very outset St. Edmund came into collision with the monks on this point. He proposed to consecrate his friend Grosseteste at Reading Abbey. The monks protested; Grosseteste himself interceded; St. Edmund insisted. Our author, after very rightly dwelling on the duty of tenacity in defending privilege, suggests a reason for St. Edmund's action. "It certainly looks as if the Archbishop was determined to carry out his intention for the very purpose of setting aside the privilege, and without other reasons."

Most likely, and so thinks Dom Wallace (p. 176): "Probably he wished to resist what he (St. Edmund) deemed exorbitant claims to privileges set up by the monks." Moreover, the continuator of Gervase gives this very point as part of St. Edmund's policy. Now for the flaw.

"What adds strength to the belief that the Archbishop was acting more upon a *whim* than anything else is, that no real reason was apparently known to the monks for his action: at least, they left Grosseteste under that impression." Leaving aside the question of monastic prudence, if, as the author has just suggested, it was for the very purpose of setting aside the privilege that St. Edmund insisted, it is not doing him justice to represent him as acting upon a whim.

The following passage gives a clear idea of the head and forefront of his offending against the monks. "The relations of Archbishop Edmund with the Canterbury monks are from any point of view distressing reading. The two parties seem to have been incapable of understanding each other. The continuator of Gervase, the historian of Canterbury, has summed up the chief points upon which St. Edmund insisted, and against which the monks contended: the archbishop claimed the right to establish a prebendal church for secular priests; he claimed the right to consecrate suffragan bishops where he wished, without the consent of the Canterbury religious; he wished to substitute secular canons for the monks in the metropolitan cathedral; and as archbishop he desired to take an active part in the government of the monastery, and as its

superior to correct abuses should he think fit to do so. It is not difficult to understand the reason of the opposition which these proposed changes met with on the part of the monks. However right and reasonable they may have seemed to the archbishop, they cannot but have appeared unjust and even tyrannical to the bulk of the Christchurch community." But then so did it appear unjust to the nobles of France in 1789 to be asked to give up their privileges, though it is evident now that if they had given them up sooner France would have been saved from revolution. The question which the author does not really meet is whether the changes *were* unjust and tyrannical. He does not even state the other side of the case.

St. Edmund was a scholar\* and therefore capable of a broad grasp of the situation. Moreover, he was imbued with the greatest love and reverence for monasticism. His early years were spent under the shadow of the Abbey of Abingdon; his favourite retreat was among the monks of Merton; his father became a monk at Eynsham and he himself was destined to die in the habit of the Cistercians at Pontigny. Surely he of all men was able to sympathise with the feelings and consider the privileges of the monks. Besides, he was no fighting man: his hatred of litigation and love of peace were among his chief characteristics. If then, as was the fact, he entered into a continued struggle against monastic privileges, either he was unfit for government—as indeed the author more than hints he was—or there was something wrong in the body monastic and ecclesiastic which he felt it his duty to remedy. This is the opinion of St. Edmund's biographers—in their view the monks were too prone to regard all things in the light of the interests of their house and their Order. The interests of the province of Canterbury were to give way to those of Christchurch. Again and again did they show

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\* Dr. Gasquet sees in this fact the explanation of the Saint's failure. "He was a student whose training had not previously brought him much into contact with his fellow-men, and a professor whose authority had been rightly accepted without question by his disciples. Because of this mental training it is more than likely that he was unable, or found it difficult, to make allowances for that deviation from strict law and principles which every practical ruler of men has to admit as a working hypothesis."

their incapacity to take an enlightened view of their functions as electors, by trying to foist their own prior or sub-prior on the Mother Church of England. Their claim to have every suffragan consecrated at Canterbury and to exercise the powers of metropolitan in the absence of the archbishop meant that the whole secular body was to be under the monastic crozier. Nor was St. Edmund the only bishop who came into collision with the monks. The quarrels of Grosseteste with the monks of his own diocese and of Christchurch, Canterbury (p. 205), are quite as painful reading as those of St. Edmund, both parties fulminating excommunications. Archbishop Boniface soon caused the monks of Canterbury "to regret the rule of his predecessor, St. Edmund, whom in his lifetime they had regarded as stern and unbending." More than one point which the Pope decided against St. Edmund was reversed in favour of Boniface. Philip de Arden, agent at the Curia for Bishop Nevile (p. 123), even "explained to the Pope what a benefit it would be to the whole Church if the monks were expelled and secular canons put in their place, as Innocent the Third had proposed to do." To this side of the case the author does not give due weight.

"That St. Edmund was canonised by the popular voice directly it was known that he was dead, and that this judgement was ratified almost immediately by authority, is sufficient testimony to the personal esteem in which he was held, in spite of all the differences in which he was engaged, in his official capacity." The fact that the bull of canonisation omits any reference to his episcopal office seems to give support to this conclusion. But it is very doubtful whether such was the verdict of the saint's contemporaries.

We read on page 311 that Bishop Northwold of Ely recalled to King Henry's mind "the fact that men like St. Thomas and St. Edmund had suffered to maintain the rights of the Church." Matthew of Paris speaks of St. Edmund "as confidently expecting to become another Thomas, by whose glorious endeavours the evil customs in England would be destroyed." True, this might mean that he was a person of high ideals and



the best intentions : but in point of fact St. Edmund did stand forth as champion of the liberties of the country against the King, as witnessed by his determination that the King should observe the charter, and as champion of the English Church against the evils that afflicted it ; and if it does not so appear in the pages of the present volume it is due to the fact that his action is either unrecorded or minimised—a good example of which treatment occurs on page 155 :

“ With the removal of Bishop Peter de Rupibus and other foreign councillors of the King, Henry, whose character always inclined him to lean upon some one or other, placed himself under the archbishop as his chief adviser. Under his influence he pardoned Gilbert Marshall and Hubert de Burgh.” Very different is the account of Roger of Wendover : “ About this time (1234), on the fourth Sunday in Lent, a council was held at Westminster, at which the King, the earls and barons, and the lately consecrated archbishop, with his suffragan bishops, assembled to make proper provisions for composing the disturbances of the kingdom. The Archbishop then, in company with the bishops and other prelates present, approached the King, and gave him his advice as well as that of the bishops concerning the desolate state and imminent danger of the kingdom, and repeated to him the disadvantages which had been set forth to him at the conference held a little while before. He also boldly told the King that unless he very soon abandoned his errors and made peace with his faithful subjects in his own kingdom, he, the archbishop, with all the other prelates present, would at once pronounce sentence of excommunication against him,” etc. This is in keeping with the inscription on his seal, “ Edmundum doceat mors mea (*i.e.*, of St. Thomas) ne timeat.” As regards the silence of the bull, there were reasons.

It was at the Council of Lyons, five years after St. Edmund's death, that eight archbishops and more than twenty bishops petitioned that St. Edmund should be declared a saint at once. Personal piety might perhaps have won such a tribute ; but considering that the English



had gone to the council to make a formal and determined protest against the excessive demands of the Holy See, it is not unnatural to consider the two petitions as connected in the minds of the English. Wallace suggests that the silence was due to anxiety to avoid giving any cause of offence to Henry the Third.

St. Edmund's flight is hardly glorious in the pages before us. "Upon this final demand, blank despair as to the state to which the English Church was reduced seized upon the Archbishop, and he fled from England for ever." Even Matthew of Paris is kinder; and those who framed the office of St. Edmund deemed it not unseemly to rank him with Gregory VII. *Dilexit justitiam et odivit iniquitatem propterea moritur in exilio.*

In conclusion, I may express the wish that some scholar may be found to do for St. Edmund what Dr. Gasquet has done for the Church in the reign of Henry III. It is time that we had a volume on St. Edmund as Archbishop. *Juvat integros accedere fontes.*

F. E. Ross.

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## ART. II.—UNIVERSALS AND THE “ILLATIVE SENSE.”

SINCE the appearance of the first edition of that remarkable book, characteristically and modestly entitled *An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent*, opinion has been in an extraordinary manner divided as to its precise value and true meaning. Catholic and Protestant theologians and philosophers alike, have made it the object of special study, the text of a great amount of direct and indirect comment, the peg upon which to hang a variety of wordy polemic, and the battle-ground of several serious philosophical controversies. For it is a work, no matter what the immediate occasion of its writing (it was understood at the time that it had originally been conceived and begun with a view to offering its contention for the individual approval of the author's brother) that frankly throws down the gauntlet in the arena of philosophy and stands or falls by the result of its challenge. From the year 1870 to the present day is a long time when measured by the span of a man's life ; and yet it may fairly be said notwithstanding, that of the number of those who have read the work—the unphilosophical to whom it was principally addressed and the philosophers who hastened to take up the challenge that had been thrown down—and the greater multitude of those to whom the name of its eminent author is one of the most familiar, the ordinary man, to whom philosophy is all that is synonymous with uncouth jargon, tiresome formality, and unreal web-spinning, has learned from its pages little that he can with any justice claim to understand. The Illative Sense, the distinction drawn between real and notional assents, the

relative values of assent and inference, perhaps retain some hold upon his thought to remind him that John Henry Newman has dealt with the question of the manner in which certitude, and especially certitude in the sphere of religious belief, is acquired. To him personally such terms and distinctions, although they may have a very definite and real meaning which fits in admirably with his own peculiar mental outlook and earns his individual approbation, come with a force and vigour untainted, as a rule, by the infiltrations of other systems and their terminologies.

To the professed student of the sciences of logic, psychology and natural, with its culmination in revealed, theology, the main thesis and the terms in which its purpose is expressed have a very different meaning. Not, indeed, that the philosophers fail to admire and venerate the real genius of the man, but because they naturally read his work in the thousand side-lights thrown upon it by other systems of thought. Is Newman to be assigned a place among the British exponents of Theism? The critical student will calmly dissect the language from the thought which it presents and overlies, callously affix a label to the doctrine advanced, and quietly thrust it into one or other of his orderly pigeon-holes.

Thus, for example, the author of a recent work on the philosophy of Theism\* takes this definite treatise as the principal ground upon which he is able to advance Cardinal Newman, in such company as that of Dr. F. J. A. Hort, Dr. E. A. Abbott, and Dr. A. J. Mason, as the prime type of the section which he devotes to a consideration of "personal Theism"; and this in a volume which presents with the greatest care and accuracy all the main types of English thought upon the subject with which it deals.

Dr. William Barry and Mr. Wilfrid Ward have lately shown us the great Cardinal's philosophical ideas from somewhat different points of view. Few of my present readers are unacquainted with the "Newman" in the

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\* For an appreciation of Dr. Caldecott's work, see the DUBLIN REVIEW for October, 1891.

literary lives published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, or with the several expositions of Newman's life-teaching so carefully and painstakingly given to the public at various times by Mr. Ward, and, in particular, with the short essay, "Two Mottoes of Cardinal Newman," which is included in his lately published volume of collected essays entitled *Problems and Persons*.

I could go on to quote a goodly number of critics and expounders, so great has been the technical interest evoked by the volume in question—were criticism and exposition likely to prove of any great or permanent value in determining more precisely the mind of Newman; but with the volume itself in our hands, each one of us can read, mark, learn and inwardly digest for himself when he pleases; for though it is a professedly popular work, it is at the same time a serious psychological treatise, carefully matured and worked out in its entirety, offered as complete in itself and sufficient, and, consequently, best to be studied alone. It would be to wrong its author to suppose that it needed any detailed elaboration and correction, either on the part of the critics or by any studied collation with other writings coming from the same pen and less directly intended to express the meaning which he sought to convey in this methodical and professed treatment of a definite subject.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the march of time has far outstripped the place and circumstances in which Newman and his work once stood. His name was once the name above all others to conjure with. It still is a name to conjure with, though the scene and its circumstances have passed away, though the whole question has veered to other points around which human reason now surges, and though the unique position which Newman once held could not be filled again, were he himself even to rise from the grave to fill it. For the Catholic, perhaps, things tend to change less rapidly; for the great central verities around which, for him, they are all necessarily grouped, do not change at all. If controversy shifts, it shifts from without. The Catholic does not change his ground. He faces, standing just where he is, the new quarter from which the changing wind of controversy blows. His principles and

doctrines and conclusions are just what they always were. He at least has no need of reconstruction of premisses or reconsideration of principles. But, without, all is a perpetual kaleidoscope, incessantly changing. The Catholic estimate of the doctrine contained in the *Grammar of Assent*, so far as there is a Catholic estimate of it, will always be what it has always been. And, for the very reason of its immobility, it is perhaps less interesting than the changes following each other in such rapid succession outside.

Take, as an example, the Established Church in this country. The crisis of the tractarian movement over, the work of its first leaders soon degenerated into what, in many cases, is no more than a debased and slavish ritualism. We Catholics have happily lived down to a very great extent the barbarous prejudices of a generation ago; and instead of having to face, as an intellectual foe, the old typical "Low" or "Broad Church" divine, or his far more dangerous and insidious "High Church" brother, who calmly borrowed whatever he dared teach from the pages of Catholic theology, we are confronted with all the various indefinite shades of Hegelianism, pseudo-mysticism, and positivism, blended with an extraordinary medley of scientific dogmas that have gradually and insistently been imported into the realm of Protestant theology. And, as the whole trend of religious speculation, where speculation rather than acquiescence is the order of the day, has set in a new direction, it might well be asked whether the foremost representative of tractarianism, the idol—even when he was no longer an Anglican but had found his peace in the bosom of the Catholic Church—of Anglicans, the venerated personality of Cardinal Newman, is more than a vague memory for those of his compatriots in the present generation who are not Catholics.

The critics have come and gone, following the flow of the restless thought which they could not, and, indeed, did not attempt to stay; and the writers have taken their place. And, to a marked extent, the first vivid interest has lagged. Cardinal Newman, for the majority of Englishmen, is a shade, walking in company with Bede and Bacon

and Newton, to be named with a certain reverence of awe, as befits one who has been great in his time and has left his mark on the page of the nation's destiny, but who, nevertheless, cannot step out of the bloodless and impersonal realm, left far behind now by the advance of progress in science and in thought.

Father Harper's articles in *The Month*\* are practically forgotten. The papers that appeared in the DUBLIN REVIEW of 1871† are not much read to-day; for the whole *mise en scène* is different now. The Bishop of Newport's more recent brief yet scholarly and temperate remarks‡ have obtained a more or less limited hearing. In the last number of this REVIEW Fr. Gerrard called attention to both Fr. Harper's and Bishop Hedley's work, and maintained that the criticism of the latter was based upon a misconception of Newman's real meaning. He did not point out, though he might perhaps have done so, that *The Month* articles, coming out at a time when the philosophical controversialists were aroused and the atmosphere charged with mental electricity, approval and dissent, did not strengthen their case, strong and thorough as it was, by the sometimes supercilious tone of criticism which they adopt.

Still, while the acuter period of first appreciation and criticism has passed, what is, rightly or wrongly, taken to be the Cardinal's doctrine has been gradually and partially assimilated by the generation succeeding him; and, dressed with every form of condiment, has been served up again and again to the public.

There is a Newman school in England owning no allegiance to the originator, if so he may be called, of the Illative Sense,§ just as there are schools both in England and in France, following, among many, the lead set by him in his *a posteriori* analysis of the workings of the human mind. The Abbé Loisy may not, perhaps, be cited

\* March, May, June, July, August, October, November, December, 1870. The March article is unsigned.

† April and July, 1871, and January, 1872. These articles were written by Dr. W. G. Ward.

‡ *Ampleforth Journal*, July, 1904, where Bishop Hedley reviews Dr. Barry's book.

§ It is of interest to note that Dr. Ward brackets Newman with Kleutgen here. See DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1871, "Certitude in Religious Assent."

as a notorious product of the *Grammar of Assent*, though he is understood to claim a natural sequence between his work and that of Cardinal Newman. But more in this connection, such names as those of MM. Henri Brémond,\* Thureau Dangin, and L. Laberthonnière at once occur. The weighty opinions expressed in the pages of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the *Correspondant* are a distinct indication of a trend of modern Catholic thought in France. Add to this the fact that Cardinal Newman's works are placed in the hands of the students in at least one important Institut Catholique; and their study, if not actually now, a very short time ago was, encouraged in what may, perhaps, be called the foremost ecclesiastical training institution in the country. This all goes to show how profound and widespread an influence his thought has exercised upon the present generation of French Catholics.

What is it, it may well be asked, that has been the cause of so great an influence? The central personality around which so many other strong personalities were grouped in the Oxford movement; the keen, almost national, interest aroused by his sayings and doings at the time; the extraordinary crisis through which the National Church was passing; these never could be properly realised in a country lacking the traditions which formed the necessary circumstances in which alone his work was possible. Even here in England the true realisation was difficult but to the chosen few. Perhaps now when Newman is gone and the swift current of the movement turned into a quiet and sluggish backwater, he can be better known and appreciated, but by his own writings principally and those of others rather than by any reconstruction of the past.

To which, then, of Cardinal Newman's works is the great popularity of all due? Undoubtedly the great majority of readers to-day, English at any rate—if I may not also hazard French as well—and for the most part, perhaps, non-Catholics, would confess that their first-hand knowledge of Newman was derived from the *Apologia*. And to what better source could they have gone than this for a faithful

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\* I am informed that the Abbé Brémond is now at work upon a volume dealing with the *Grammar of Assent*, which is to appear this autumn.



delineation of the man, modestly and with infinite pains drawn by his own hand? Reticent it may be to a certain extent, in a sense fragmentary, written, apparently, without a conscious regard for the final proportions which its recorded impressions and incidents assume as they fall into their true place in the records of a movement that has well nigh worn itself out, and of a generation that has passed away. Here, in his own inimitable style and in measured and temperate language flowing on with the calm strength born of absolute conviction, like a mighty placid river far from its impetuous source, Newman pictures the inner history of his strenuous religious life and its development. This is no torrent of emotion, no frenzied polemic, no piece of biassed special pleading. Like a skilful demonstrator in the science of anatomy, working with that cold precision which is only acquired by a long familiarity of practice in his art and certain knowledge of his subject, he lays bare the very nerves and fibres of his spiritual nature. Nor does he shrink, affrighted by the enormous difficulties of his self-imposed task. His was too great a character for that. What in most men would be no more than a tiresome egotism of the worst type, in him is the truest self-abnegation and the profoundest humility. Though there are blanks, the detail of which we would see filled, there are no crises in the structure of the narrative; for the master hand calmly, steadily, as it were impersonally, continues the dissection of his own soul, touching and laying bare the still quivering fibres and agonising nerves as though the recollection cost him little acute pain. And this, notwithstanding the first simple and direct words in that beautiful initial chapter: "It may easily be conceived how great a trial it is to me to write the following history of myself, but I must not shrink from the task." Nor did he: and that courageous resolve to lay bare his retiring personality to the vulgar gaze of mankind for what he rightly considered was a useful and a noble end, has enriched the English language with at least one of its classic masterpieces.

The Newman of the *Apologia* is yet a living personality, a type; strong by reason of the very weakness of a



naturally modest and retiring nature; surface-calm over seething undercurrents of intensest fire; majestic in the straightforward simplicity of his touching modesty; boldly confident of his subject where a lesser would have hesitated and been lost; above all, consciously certain of that Divine guidance which was with him throughout the chequered course of an unusually troubled and perplexed career, with so strong a certainty of trusting and child-like belief as makes the closing words of his spiritual autobiography something more than a mere rhetorical peroration.

Better than any other of his works, as it indeed should, the *Apologia* portrays Newman the man. But had the *Apologia* never been written, his characteristic history could have been in no small measure reconstructed from the sermons of Newman the teacher, the guide of souls. The eight volumes of *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, those preached on various occasions, the discourses addressed to mixed congregations, the sermons bearing upon subjects of the day, the fifteen sermons preached before the University of Oxford, when taken in their proper order, and making allowance for the ebb and flow of his advancing thought, manifest his growing Catholic spirit and constitute an unconscious account of his life history. They present the characteristic notes, not so much of what Newman consciously and systematically worked out for himself as an isolated individual face to face with his God, as of what he, the devoted pastor and shepherd of immortal souls, took the pains, which a sensitively conscientious nature must of necessity take, to elaborate and prepare for those souls in a great measure dependent upon his teaching.

The sermons, taken as a whole, show Newman as parson in the Establishment, as vicar of the Church of St. Mary at Oxford, and, later on, as a priest of God. But they do more than that. The seeds of what was destined to be the future harvest can be discerned in the furrows of earlier ploughing. The life motive of the man was gradually, imperceptibly almost, taking shape. The shadows and images were indeed becoming realities and very truths. Read in the light of their manifest limitations of time and place, even the earlier sermons are an *apologia*, no less,

than the set history of his religious opinions from the beginning until the year 1864, justificative of the momentous wave of enlightenment which tore the Vicar of St. Mary's from the calm peace of a university atmosphere and, through storms and tempests, at length brought him to a haven of rest in the Church of God.

Here then, in these volumes of religious orations, is to be discerned the spiritual life history of the man. The faint glimmerings of that kindly light which led him are seen, not as in the *Apologia*, gathering strength and swelling from a first ghostly twilight to the full splendour of the noontide sun, but sparsely, fitfully, as it were capriciously, now dispelling for a moment the encircling gloom, now illuminating, as by a lightning flash, the darkness of the night.

To know Newman, and to understand the inner meaning of his life and the vast range of his intellectual outlook, the sermons are really no less necessary than the studied portrait which he himself gives in the *Apologia* as a true and straightforward statement of the history and growth of his religious opinions.

Were a Catholic reader, unacquainted with his other writings, to take up for the first time his work upon the *Development of Christian Doctrine*, he would doubtless be struck not so much by any novelty of theme or peculiar view advocated as by the keen vividness of its author's penetration, the luxuriant richness of his imagery, the wonderful pageantry of his thought, the melodious charm of his language. For in this work Newman shows himself as the interpreter of a dogmatic principle, and gives a new example of a line upon which the interpretation of dogma may be attempted. There is that in the *Development* which may come with a note of strangeness and unfamiliarity to the older Catholic ear. But it must not be lost sight of that Newman was writing dogma for those to whom all dogma was abhorrent and incomprehensible. Much would read strange to the expert were an electrician, for example, to attempt an explanation of his science in terms calculated to arouse the interest and hold the attention of the rustic.

The theologian—though he himself went so far as to deprecate his knowledge of theology and philosophy alike\*—brings the almost incredible wealth of his personal gifts to the task of clothing the dry bones of a dogmatic proposition in the vigour and freshness of living flesh and blood. He ransacks the vast storehouse of his historical knowledge. He employs his easy mastery of literature and his winning grace of style. He never once loses sight of what is to be the full stature of his finished work. He is painstakingly faithful to the principle which he discusses, guarding it against misconception and misunderstanding. And so, although to the more superficial, as a rule, the restraint of dogma seems to be irksome, needlessly careful, insistently reiterative, he succeeds brilliantly where few would have succeeded at all. It would be out of place, and indeed unfair, in an article such as this, which has primarily to do with only one work, to criticise any excess, in departure from a rigorous statement of dogmatic fact, into which his zeal may have led him in his presentation, to an audience guiltless of dogmatic leanings in any form, of the thesis concerning the gradual explication of dogma.

But, even here, Newman the theologian interpreter fails to hide completely Newman the man; and all along the professedly dogmatic path which, leading the way for his unaccustomed hearers, he treads, he leaves the footprints of his own striking and magnetic personality.

To omit any even passing remarks upon his numerous other works as beyond the necessary scope of this article and to turn at once to the *Grammar of Assent*: perhaps the most extraordinarily striking note to be observed in it is its dissimilarity to all the other writings of its eminent author. The phrases, the rich wealth of diction, the careful selection and adjustment of words, the vigorous personal thought behind them, are all there. The examples and arguments are as happy, as homely, as direct, indeed in many cases far more homely and direct than those brought forward in support of less abstruse reasonings and doctrines to be found in other places. There are paragraphs

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\* See his letter to Fr. Coleridge, quoted in the last number of this Review.

and even whole pages to be found where the well-known man, preacher, philosopher, and theologian is not altogether hidden beneath the sentences of his own creation. There are gleams and coruscations of thought at which one pauses to exclaim: "This is indeed the veritable Newman!" There is pathos, tenderness, persuasion, cogency, especially in the latter part of the tenth chapter, that holds its readers spellbound with the familiar incantation—*incantantis sapienter*. But, none the less, throughout the whole there runs a something curiously unfamiliar, indefinable, intangible, a disturbing note, an unusual restlessness. The painstaking, almost painful, insistence of assertion employed; the forced reiteration; the ceaseless correction, that prompts the reader to re-read, pencil in hand, what he has just read:—this is not the art of the Newman of the *Apologia*, the *Sermons*, or the *Development*. Is it objected that this is above all others his philosophical work; that philosophy is, and of its nature must be, obscure, necessitating insistence, assertion, reiteration, correction; that such topics as that which forms the subject of the *Grammar* are so unfamiliar to the ordinary run of men as to be incapable of treatment in any other form? It has, none the less, not the familiar touch—and we expect to find it even here—of the Newman whom we know. Locke did not write thus, nor Berkeley, nor Green, nor even Mill. The *Religio Viatoris* is Cardinal Manning. Not in the same sense is the *Grammar* Cardinal Newman. I speak only of the whole, not analysing the teaching nor criticising the doctrine: and I question if the Newman of the *Grammar* is the real Newman of the *Apologia*.

If one reads the other works pencil in hand, it is a willing tribute to their wondrous beauty. Here it may be so in part, but it is also at the same time a sad and unwilling confession of misunderstanding. There one turns back through the pages to refresh an admiring memory: here he compares his bethumbed passages to ask himself which he has read aright, what principle he has understood wrongly, where he has lost touch with his master and gone astray, roaming alone over untrodden and unmapped paths.

Why this notable and indefinable divergence from the other writings? It cannot be hazarded that Newman was less clear in his own mind or less accurate in the presentation of his thesis here than elsewhere. It may be taken for a confession of ignorance or incompetence, yet one rises from a perusal of the *Grammar*, not for the first time, mystified and puzzled. Where is the Newman we know so well, we may ask. The words, indeed, are his words, the phrases his phrases, but the living voice is the voice of another. It cannot be—we dare not say—that Newman was here consciously offering nothing new to an expectant audience; that he was occupied in dressing up some worn and threadbare truism in a new garb of words; scraping off the accumulations of mere logic from the vital processes of psychology. He claims to give a true *a posteriori* account of the working of his own mental faculties. He puts forward an Illative Sense to explain and justify the equation between beliefs and their evidence which, it is felt, is absolutely necessary. He distinguishes between Real and Notional Assents, roughly as between propositions imaginable and thinkable. And what may be taken to be true, in the case of the one typical individual examined, may fairly be supposed to apply indiscriminately to all. Do we reason illatively? Do we, indeed, pass from concrete to concrete, as it is claimed, in our toilsome journey towards the truths of nature and of God? Do we assent less, or is our certitude less in proportion, to a proposition that we can only think as true than to something which, in company with the animals, we can only imagine? Or is it, after all, that the Illative Sense and Real and Notional Assents are only newly coined words intended to present with greater freshness and vividness age-old ideas?

The justification of the *Development* cannot be urged if a justification be necessary here. If Newman's thesis was the thesis of the schools he has failed in his endeavour to present it in a popular and convincing form. If it fails to be either popular or convincing he is not to blame, but his departure, conscious or unconscious, from the received teaching of the schools. I cannot think—and I am confident of the feeling of my readers upon this point—that he,

the master reader of minds long dead and living, the consummate artist, the man to whom truth was the highest principle\* and lying in any guise or form an intolerable vice, wished to present the traditional teaching of the schools, and attempted to achieve his end by a liberal coining of new terms, by a deliberate mystifying of his readers, or by a *Grammar of Assent*, of which it yet remains to be shown that it is in any sense scholastic. Newman is too great for such an aspersion. The mud may be flung; it will not stick. If a reason indeed exists, it is not to be sought for here; for here—surely it will be allowed—it cannot possibly be found. There is one other alternative. The *Grammar of Assent* is in no way a scholastic treatise. It was never intended to be, or to be taken as, such.

Thus was this work understood by the reviewer in the *Tablet* of April, 1870.† I quote one paragraph from his interesting summary: ". . . Since the whole scope of this work addresses itself rather to unscientific than scientific minds, such a consideration [the cumulation of various probabilities culminating in an unconditional action productive of real assent on the part of the Illative Sense] may well suffice to prevent the former from falling into scepticism. Had not sound philosophy anything more definite to urge in answer to the requirements of the latter, they on the other hand would be precipitated, without hope of recovery, into that terrible gulf."

The *Grammar of Assent* is a descriptive account of the way in which Newman, reviewing and considering the processes of his own mind in detail, and thereby tacitly and fairly laying claim to have before his intellectual vision the hidden processes of the mind of man in general, attempts to account for the presence of certain items of knowledge and belief which he there discovers in possession. He takes, and professes to take, facts as he finds them, and looks for their explanation, not in virtue of any *a priori* principle, or studied adjustment of what is to what should be, as he himself more than once states, but by calling up,

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\* *Apologia*, p. 282.

† Vol. iii., p. 485.

one after another, his mental phenomena as they appear to him, by setting them carefully out in order, considering particularly their value in the concrete, and deriving from what appears to him to be their real nature the doctrine of the Illative Sense.

But it is not yet time to examine the doctrines taught. The question as to why this work is unlike the others has not yet been answered. I have said, and I think rightly, that it is by no means a mere popular re-statement of teaching worn threadbare by long and continuous use; that it is in no sense a treatise written upon the familiar scholastic lines; that it, by the very fact of its existence, to say nothing of the tenor of its contents, professes to be a new and veracious account—not, be it noticed in passing, a theory—of the psychological processes leading to and constituting real assent to truths, natural or otherwise.

There must, therefore, be one or many points of divergence between this and the older theories by which the same phenomena of consciousness have been explained in the past. And I think, though I shall not now enlarge upon this point, since its consideration forms the main point of the present article and it will be examined in due course, that it is on account of one such divergence at least that this treatise so curiously differs, as I have already attempted to point out, from the other works of Cardinal Newman.

It may be that Fr. Harper was right when he drew attention to the place of logic in the *Grammar* and took exception to the treatment which this science received there. Dr. Newman was content to leave the issue of the controversy to the impartial judgement of the future, a point upon which Fr. Gerrard lays stress in his article. But what has that future done? Generally more superficial and frivolous, it has forgotten. It has not yet definitely adjudicated. Even those for whom the book and the controversy naturally possess a certain academic interest are still as divided in their estimate of the one and as to the sides which they take in the other as they were when the papers referred to originally appeared. And instead of awarding the palm, these learned controversialists have, if anything, only succeeded in still further distracting the



issues. Possibly the reviewer in the DUBLIN REVIEW of 1871 \* speaks for others as well as for himself when he acknowledges that he cannot altogether agree with all the statements and conclusions he finds; although comparing it with that of Fr. Klentgen, he professes himself able to accept in the main the thesis of the *Grammar* and ready to make use of much that it contains in answering the problem for himself and in his own way. But he is not so much concerned with the logic. Still he is one with Newman in making the distinction between implicit and explicit reasoning: but he parts company with his friend when he holds that reason is able to bring into explicitness what was before implicit; and that all religious truths fall into their place in a system of theism that admits of "absolutely conclusive scientific establishment."†

It would scarce be the truest modesty of egotism to attempt to adjudicate between such eminent scholars. Fr. Harper's five articles, with their sequence of the three upon "Common-sense and Moral," "Moral," and "Causation," all considered with regard to the doctrine set forth in the *Grammar of Assent*, are to be found in *The Month* of 1870, beginning in the March number. For a full account of his extraordinarily careful reasoning I must refer my readers to those pages and leave each to form his own opinion of the merits of his contention. They are full of hard thinking and make hard reading, but it is worth while to master them if one would thoroughly understand the controversy. By this time we have learned to forget that they may contain a note of sarcastic expression which perhaps did more to draw Newman's letter to Fr. Coleridge, quoted in the last number of this REVIEW by Fr. Gerrard, than the sharp criticism of his doctrines which they embodied. Here I shall only state—for I do not think that it is due to his quarrel with logic as a whole that the Newman of the *Grammar* is not the familiar personality that we know—that, I take it, logic is really no more than the re-casting and verbal re-statement of our necessary thoughts. This seems to me to be the nature of the logic of Aristotle. It

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\* Dr. W. G. Ward.

† *Essays on the Philosophy of Theism*, vol. ii., p. 131.



seems equally to be the logic of St. Thomas Aquinas. Our thoughts, like everything else that we know in this world, directly or reflexly, are subject to certain fixed laws. We think before we speak or syllogise; but we think, none the less, obedient to the rules which govern what we may call untrammelled thought no less than the formal processes of logic. We think, as we digest, spontaneously and naturally, but in obedience to the rules imposed by nature. We can study the laws of digestion as well as those of thought, and the result of such study in either case may be useful in teaching us how to avoid an attack of dyspepsia, mental or physical. Meanwhile the mind and the stomach work on as usual each in its natural way.

Our thoughts, it is true, we may never express in syllogistic form. It may not be necessary: it may never even occur to us to try to do so. It may possibly be, as Newman more than once suggests, that the vocabularies of our human languages are indeed something too rough and ready to express with any great degree of accuracy the delicacy, the fineness, the mute precision of our thoughts. We think faster than we speak; just as we speak faster than we write: and we are not seldom careless and slipshod both in speaking and writing. Holmes' dull preacher is a simile in point. But it does not follow that every thought of which we are capable cannot be expressed in the terms of syllogistic reasoning, definition, premise, conclusion. It does not follow that, with great care and precision, we cannot even manage to convey to our hearers what, in ordinary conversation, may be left as an inevitable residuum of personal experience, if only we take sufficient pains to try to do so, either by careful and insistent explanation or by securing to them subjective experiences similar to those which have given their substance and reality to our own thoughts.

I would have logic, in the terms of the scholastics, both a science and an art—a science as considering the necessary laws which all thought, be it expressed or no, must obey if it is to be reasonable and legitimate thought at all; an art in duly applying the sure knowledge furnished by the science and its discovered rules to whatever case may come

before the mind. But, as I have said, for the whole logical treatment of the subject I refer my readers to Fr. Harper's articles as well as to the *Grammar of Assent* itself; and express no decided opinion upon what, in the latter, looks like a genuine distrust and dislike of the limitations set by the necessary laws of thought imposed, as they are, by the Creator of the human mind.

Perhaps Dr. Ward took the right line in his DUBLIN articles, in eschewing criticism and accepting, with reservations, logic and psychology alike, and constructing his own answer to the objection of the "equationists" from the materials so abundantly furnished in the *Grammar*. Or again, it may be that Bishop of Newport has grounds for the expression of his weighty opinion in the *Ampleforth Journal*.\* He is certainly not alone in being unable "to accept Newman's main thesis in the *Grammar of Assent*." But, on the other hand, it may be allowed that Fr. Gerrard is right in pointing out that "nowhere in the *Grammar* is it claimed that the imagination, or any other organic faculty, makes inferences." Certainly the formal and categoric statement is not put forward. If, as he says, "formal inference is reason acting in grooves, stripped of all its associations with sensation," then a distinction may very pertinently be drawn between reason using sensations as its data and reason swayed and influenced by feelings belonging properly to the sensitive plane of man's nature. Both, of course, are very common and ordinary acts of human beings. In attaining truth and acquiring knowledge we have primarily nothing more than the sensations in which both are potentially present. All our naturally gained intellectual knowledge has its necessary origin in sense-perception. But the man who allows himself to be swayed in his judgement by feelings pertaining to his lower nature is reckoned a weak character. If no more solid grounds of real assent are forthcoming than these, then indeed he who reflects stands in imminent danger of being precipitated into the terrible gulf of scepticism. Certainly, no matter how sense-perception

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\* July, 1904.

may be refined by the intellect which perceives it and works upon it, it must all through the process be in a sense most intimately connected with its source. Though in the act of understanding it is stripped of the original material and of the individual notes which accompanied it, no amount of reasoning or explanation can suffice to purge the intellectual concept of the fact and nature of its origin. As I hope to show in this paper, the main work of philosophy is to account for the fact that an object so originating can become an object for the intellect at all. But if, on the other hand, the exponents are right in maintaining that these sense-perceived data do more than furnish the rough-hewn stones which reason is to shape into the squared and polished blocks of the temple of knowledge, if the inferring faculty in man and its objects be not stripped of any actual associations with sensation, then I ask my readers if man, in such a hypothesis, differs from the brute animals in anything more than a mere refinement of sensation; if the difference is not one of degree and not of kind.

This, I conceive, cannot be the true meaning of Newman: and for this reason I think that the answer to our question cannot be found here. Again I express no decided opinion as to whether the Illative Sense is some new discovery or only our old friend the intellect expressed by a term signifying its perfection, rather than—but still really meaning and embracing—its natural facility of working and its unscientific, though excellent, habit.

I pass on to the distinction drawn between assents as notional and real; or, as Dr. Ward noted,\* between assents to propositions imaginable and thinkable. Is that for which we seek to be discovered here? As early as the second section of the first chapter the sharp distinction is clearly made and insisted upon: and it is employed again and again throughout the whole work. To the scholastically trained ear it rings faulty, especially in its applications. The reader, unwilling to make a hasty judgement and ready to discover that he has misunderstood the meaning,

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\* "The Rule and Motive of Certitude," DUBLIN REVIEW, July, 1871.

points the first three paragraphs with a note of interrogation, reads them over again, and goes on with the chapter. But already, vaguely, he has connected what he has just read and marked with his own scholastic theory of universals; and, as he proceeds, real and notional assents on the one hand and the scholastic doctrine on the other shape themselves more clearly and definitely in his mind. At length they stand out in forceable juxtaposition and sharp contrast. And here, I venture to think, he has conjured up the very souls of the two teachings; and has before him abundantly sufficient material from which an answer to his question can be framed.

An ill-prepared sermon is not only apt to be excessively prosy. It is also generally unduly long. The uncomfortable preacher flounders hopelessly in a quagmire of words and conventional or startling phrases, impotent to deliver himself of their encumbering embrace. So, too, is the preacher or writer at a disadvantage, which he realises the more in proportion as he gauges the mental standard of those whom he happens to be addressing, if he is in the position of one striving to render palatable an intellectual diet which he knows, by manifold experience, they will not relish unless its flavour is carefully disguised. But perhaps his most difficult and distressing task is to present his subject painstakingly thought out, carefully arranged, with its terms finely chosen, its various arguments all mustered in order, its examples and analogies faultlessly pointed, the whole bound together and presented as part of a coherent system, happy in expression, pleasing in style, scintillating with epigram, and yet to realise all along that there is a something, not actually entering into his scheme and yet presupposed by it, of which he has not taken a sufficient notice, to which he has failed, or of set purpose has omitted, to relate what he has had to say.

We are told that substances will cast shadows. . But so, were such a condition physically possible, would an absolute vacuum. As often as not, it is not the presence, but the absence, of a fact that mars what otherwise would be a well founded theory. Frequently a hypothesis proves

valueless because some well founded theory was left out of account in its framing.

Now Newman cannot be compared, in any sense whatever, to the ill-prepared preacher or the refurbisher of ancient saws. Fr. Gerrard has alluded to the number of times the chapters in the *Grammar of Assent* were rewritten. Few works, apparently, have had such a preparation or undergone so searching a revision at the hands of their authors. Of itself alone it would bespeak the consciously well prepared, the anxiously careful, the minute philosopher. But there remains an alternative, as a possibility which may throw light upon the subject, and give the real clue to the position. A fundamental doctrinal theory—that found in the scholastic answer to the problem of the universals—has been left out of account in the philosophy of the *Grammar of Assent*. The reviewer of the *Tablet* for April 9, 16, 1870, hit upon this point: and his words, as those of one obviously desirous of finding nothing but matter for praise in the text before him, are worth quotation. He writes as follows: \* "Dr. Newman expressly disclaims the intention of entering into metaphysics. Unfortunately, he has been unable to avoid many allusions to this subject, especially in the first portion of the work. His treatment of first principles, for instance, plunges him at once into the depths of ontology, whilst his theory of universal ideas [or, perhaps more properly, his disregard for the scholastic theory of universals] touches the most fundamental point in the whole range of metaphysics. On these points we would hope that those who have not yet made a particular study of those important questions will be prudent enough to suspend their judgement."

I need hardly remind my readers of the enormous importance which this theory of universals—"the most fundamental point in the whole range of metaphysics"—assumes in the scholastic system of philosophy. The position it holds is, in many ways, a quite unique one. It is not only one of the central pivots of the whole philosophy;

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\* The *Tablet*, vol. iii., p. 485.

it is also, to a very marked extent, the cause which occasioned the real rise and progress of scholasticism. Not, indeed, that the schools did not exist before the topic, ancient as the philosophy of the Greeks, came definitely before them and claimed, throughout three centuries, their almost undivided attention. The first foundations of the schools were laid in monastery and cathedral long before Charlemagne gave his famous charter to the Abbey of Fulda. The monk Bede the venerable had already laboured at Jarrow. The famous school at York had produced in Alcuin the personal friend and the teacher of the great Emperor himself. To his zeal we are able to trace no small part of the labours of Charles the Great in the cause of learning. His reminiscences of his old alma mater gave their impress and character to the new schools of the Empire. Ireland, always famous for the brilliant parts of its scholars, sent forth an army of teachers from its shores, who soon were to be found scattered throughout all the monastic and cathedral establishments of Europe. The Trivium and the Quadrivium—comprising the sciences of grammar, dialectic and rhetoric, as well as arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music—formed the curriculum of the new centres of learning. Such was the accepted division of human knowledge first definitely established by Cassiodorus.

Beyond the bounds of these seven human sciences lay the vast subject of Divine Theology, for which they formed the natural and necessary preparation. In those days, apparently, a truer estimate of the relative values of things obtained than now; and education, fragmentary and inchoate as it was, had not yet degenerated into mere instruction. We may easily picture for ourselves the quiet cloister of a monastic establishment, or the cathedral garth, thronged with the studious pupils of some celebrated master. Youths who had thronged to the "school" that was the prototype of the university into which, later, it naturally developed, they listened, careful for every word, as their master expounded the traditional subjects. Those were not the days of an age noteworthy for distraction and dissipation of mind. There were no cheap newspapers

chronicling the doings of the world. There were no cheap books of romance or adventure ready to charm the student from the serious pursuit of knowledge. The precious volumes, written with the greatest care by hand and representing the toil of years, were valued as we do not now value the machine-produced book turned out in its thousands at a nominal cost. Though they were conned over and over again and learnt and repeated by heart, yet the comments of "the master," the disputations of the scholars, the real education of the school, was what gradually filtered out, from cloister and aisle, to the surrounding world. Those, indeed, were ages of study and of faith, of true education and of great learning, of solid personal work crowned with glorious results.

But from one peaceful seat of the new learning to another, from time to time, came presages of future controversies. The various schools became to some extent individualised by their teachers and the succession of their masters. Here and there a doctrine advanced, as speculation grew, fell under the condemnation of the ever watchful Church. But it is not surprising to find these years of tranquil study a period on the whole comparatively free from condemnations in subjects purely philosophical, when we remember the limited nature of the philosophy taught and the circumscribed bounds of the disputations held.

Notwithstanding this, we are able to trace the great controversy which was shaping in the writings of scholastic teachers as early, at least, as John Scotus Erigena.

With Roscelin of Compiègne the doctrine known as Nominalism formally and definitely took shape. From his time (died about 1100) to that of William of Ockam (born about 1280) the schools of Europe resounded with one of the most important, and, at the same time, most perseveringly and bitterly discussed controversies that has ever exercised the mind of man. Dimly realised, perhaps, in the first period of scholastic formation and growth, the interpretation of the universals gradually took form and shape, ultimately issuing in the doctrines which may all be classed roughly under the four general headings of



Nominalism, Conceptualism, and the two forms—Exaggerated and Moderate—of Realism.

Roscelin is the first definite expounder of Nominalism. For him and his sectaries there is no true universal, concept or thing. The name alone, as applied to an indefinitely universal number, can, with any appearance of truth, be called a universal. Consequently, every existing thing is a unique concrete reality, irreducible to anything other than its concrete self, and every concept of the mind is likewise an irreducible concrete thought.

Utterly unlike this teaching was that of William of Champeaux, the Columna Doctorum, who asserted that the universal was necessarily and entirely present in the individual. This, of course, was a realism of the most pronounced type, and William found his doctrine so violently opposed and so justly criticised that he was obliged to modify it, and finally to abandon it altogether.

His most relentless opponent was the brilliant and unfortunate Abelard. A man of many parts, a dialectician of the first order, the foremost and most exacting critic of his time, he set himself against realism and nominalism alike. It is not easy to gather his own precise teaching upon the subject of the universals, for his genius was critical rather than constructive, vast in extent rather than in depth of penetration. But from what we do know, we are enabled to place him among the forerunners of that moderate realistic school which finds its full development and perfection of expression in the doctrines of St. Thomas Aquinas. The story of his life, so graphically pictured by himself in that sad *Historia Calamitatum*, is better known, and far more widely, than his theological or philosophical opinions. Heloise is far more familiar to us than his condemned treatise upon the Trinity. Canon Fulbert we remember, and the Paraclete; but his dialogue, the *Sic et Non*, which laid the lines of scholastic disputation for all time, is forgotten. The Englishman and American sigh together over the monument erected at Père-la-Chaise. Who of them ever think that their hero—heroic, alas, to them because of the unhallowed love of his errant heart—was



one of those strong men of the ages of faith and intellect who contributed no small quota to the ultimate issue of the great problem of the universals? The generally distorted and warped view that is taken of his life is distressing to the Catholic. Abelard himself in that apologia, which he so truly calls the "Story of his Calamities," attributes his later sufferings to his earlier vain glory and pride. Surely we may take this as a true indication of the man we would honour and revere; and, forgetting his faults as we would have our own forgotten, echo the words of the venerable Abbot of Cluny, with whom the last years of his life were spent, that he was ever to be named with honour as the servant and true philosopher of Christ.

The scholastics who maintained the thesis of conceptualism held that the idea or concept may indeed have a certain universality of its own, but that there is no corresponding universality in things to which it can refer. William of Ockam, the Doctor Invincibilis, though he might easily be mistaken for a nominalist, is really a fair type of the conceptualist school; for he says\*: "No universal is a substance no matter how it be considered, but every universal is an intention of the mind"; and, it might be added, is created by the intellect.

The best example of the moderate realist is to be found in the greatest of all the schoolmen, St. Thomas Aquinas. His teaching is that of the Stagyrte. Every existing thing is singular and individual. "'Animal' is no more than 'Socrates,' 'Plato,' and other (individual) animals, except to the intellect which apprehends the 'form' of the animal denuded of all individuating and specifying notes."†

\* Tract. Log., 1a, c. 15.

† *Contra Gentiles*, l. 1., c. 26. Quod est commune multis non est aliquid praeter multa, nisi sola ratione, etc. It is important to note, as Sylvestris says in his commentary, that "aliud est dicere, quod est commune multis, sive universale non est ens nisi in intellectu, et aliud dicere, universale non est aliquid praeter multa, nisi in intellectu. Primum enim est falsum, et secundum est verum. Ipsum enim universale non est ens rationis, si materialiter, et quantum ad rem denominatam sumatur: sed est ens reale in rebus existens: animal enim ens reale est, in particularibus animalibus existens. Sed verum est quod ipsa abstractio et universalitas sibi non convenit nisi in intellectu: non invenitur enim animal commune a particularibus animalibus separatim in rerum natura, sed bene per intellectum considerari potest per abstractionem ab omnibus particularibus.

The thing (*res*), together with all those connotations of individuality which it naturally possesses, is found entire and complete in every individual of its kind. The genus is in the species. But it is apprehended by the mind without any notes of individuation: and thus precisely because it is an object of the mind's contemplation. The condition *sine qua non* of thought is that its object should be identified with the thinking subject: and such an identification is impossible so long as the object remains individualised, as it is physically, by its incommunicable notes. But the acting intelligence strips these notes from the sense-image, itself already to some extent purified of material conditions, and thus attains the universal, which, though thus seen to have its formal existence only in mind, has a real foundation in the things which its mental counterpart reflects. The universal is real in that it contains within itself the common nature of each thing to which it responds. It is ideal in that it represents that common nature stripped of all the individualising notes which, as a matter of fact, each individual in which it is found possesses. Nothing could be clearer than the words of the Angelic Doctor upon the point, which are to be found in the *Summa Theologica*, *Pars. 1a, q. lxxxv., art. ii., ad 2.* "Cum dicitur universale abstractum, duo intelliguntur, scilicet ipsa natura rei, et abstractio, seu universalitas. Ipsa igitur natura, cui accidit vel intelligi vel abstrahi, vel intentio universalitatis, non est nisi in singularibus: sed hoc ipsum, quod est intelligi, vel abstrahi, vel intentio universalitatis, est in intellectu." And again, *I Sent., Dist. xix., q. v., a. 1*: "Eorum quae significantur nominibus, invenitur triplex diversitas. Quaedam enim sunt, quae secundum esse totum completum sunt extra animam; et huiusmodi sunt entia completa, sicut homo et lapis. . . . Quaedam autem sunt quae habent fundamentum in re extra animam, sed complementum rationis eorum, quantum ad id quod est formale, est per operationem animae, ut patet in universali. Humanitas enim est aliquid in re, non tamen ibi habet rationem universalis, cum non sit extra animam aliqua humanitas multis communis; sed secundum quod accipitur

in intellectu, adiungitur ei per operationem intellectus intentio, secundum quam dicitur species."

By these statements of the true meaning of the abstract universal St. Thomas Aquinas, following Aristotle, does something more than affirm a doctrine bearing upon one point alone. He saves the universality of science by establishing a universal which really represents and is all the individuals of which it is predicated, save in the one characteristic of not sharing with them their individuating notes. Without some such provision science, as science, could not be at all. Nothing more would be apprehended than individuals, as the sense apprehends them, with all their particular environment, concrete things. "This" and "that" would be the limits of apperception. A proposition, as "man is a reasoning animal," would be but a counter nominally representing the ideal thought "this man is this man." Or, if a conceptualistic theory be put forward to save the position, such a proposition might, of course, stand, but only on the distinct understanding that of each individual man there was a like concept; and that, on account of this similarity of concept, the term "reasoning animal" could be predicated of all. And thus St. Thomas, while admitting the essentially singular nature of individual things, provides for a real science by explaining how the naturally working mind, by abstraction from the individual characteristics, reaches the universals upon which all science is based.

But a more important result than this follows also. Not only is the true universality of science saved by this theory of universals: its objectivity is safeguarded as well. The real things understood or intellectually perceived are not mere words or ideas. They are the things existing quite independently of us in nature, from which the *species* are derived and which words are employed to signify. The mode alone in which they are understood belongs uniquely to the mind. In us the "intentio intellectus" is a necessary part of the process of understanding. For the universal is real. It exists as the architectonic idea, in the mind of God, before the thing, formed so to correspond with it as to produce that relationship between object and intellect

which constitutes truth, comes into being. It is found in the human mind as the *species* extracted by the intellect, acting in accordance with its natural laws, of the individuals between which and it is to be found a similar formal relationship, again constituting truth. It is in the concrete and individual thing as its essence ; but it is not discovered there as formally universal. Nevertheless, the fundamental essence of the individual is such that it needs only a living intelligence and its peculiar mode of abstraction to become formally a universal—a nature *per se* proper to many of indeterminate number.

I make no apology for this only too brief and hurried sketch of the main points of the doctrine of St. Thomas. The subject, it must be admitted, though an exceedingly important one, is not altogether an easy one to understand : and yet if one takes the necessary pains to grasp it, it will be found far easier than it at first sight looks. If more than the bare statement just given is required, it can be found in the works of St. Thomas himself or in any good text book of scholastic philosophy.

The controversy raged about the nature of universals for some three hundred years, all through the most brilliant period recorded in the history of thought. The names of those who took a leading part in it are catalogued among those of the greatest intellects of the world. It was a succession of strong and picturesque generations full of profound study, of keen thinking, of deep and clear penetration. And the labours of the master minds of the schools ultimately issued, as we know, in the rejection of all forms of Nominalism and Conceptualism, and the definite adoption of Moderate Realism.

In vain did the Invincible Doctor William of Ockam strive to renew a modified conceptualist doctrine. His work did an undoubted service to philosophy in counteracting the exaggerated Realism that had grown up in the Scotist school. But it was as dangerous a doctrine to handle as that against which it was employed ; and after a few years of brilliant triumph over opposing systems, it was condemned by both Church and University. A few belated and unimportant sectaries

strove to keep the doomed school alive, and brought worthless aid to one side or the other. But the controversy, at any rate as concerning the doctrine of Universals, was practically dead; and the activity with which the last phase of scholasticism began soon degenerated into a petty strife of partizans and a sorry patter of dialectic.

What remained as the practical result of this extraordinary and prolonged display of mental activity, as far as concerns the doctrine which we are now considering, was the Moderate Realism professed generally by the schools of the present day. The opposing theories had done a good work. They were the occasion of a full discussion and ensured the thorough consideration and the matured results which are so peculiar to the tradition of the schools. Their dangers, by being manifestly shown to exist, were realised and avoided. Sensism was seen to be the logical outcome of a denial of universals, together with a destruction of the possibility of all true science. Incidentally, both Nominalism and Conceptualism reduce man to a species of glorified brute animal and destroy the force of the only possible arguments that a saner form of scholasticism had to urge in favour of the immateriality, and consequent immortality, of the human soul.

I have been at some pains, in the rough delineation of the controversy which raged around the question of universals in the Middle Ages, to lay especial stress upon the greatness of the intellectual forces at work, the extraordinarily prolonged period of sifting and discussion, the momentous nature of the consequences involved. Now-a-days, when this brightest period of the greatest intellectual movement of history is almost obliterated by the shadows of what, we are told, were the "dark ages," it is hardly remembered that such a question was ever discussed; and little importance is attached to a doctrine that seldom passes beyond the precincts of the school. It is sad to think that to the "dark ages" have succeeded darker ages in the realm of thought! But the influence of the doctrine has been preserved and is felt, as the influence of all great truths is felt; and if the world at large has forgotten the precise terms in which it was couched, it is continually making use of it in practice.

Now I venture to urge, with the greatest possible deference and fully conscious of the serious nature of any mistake if I am wrong, that in the conscious or unconscious omission of the theory of universals from the *Grammar of Assent*, or in the substitution of some other for the true teaching of the schools, is to be found the reason of the curious effect of a perusal of the work as well as the main cause of the fruitful controversies to which it has given rise. With the logic I am not now concerned, nor with the psychological aspect. The question is primarily one of metaphysics, although it naturally involves both logic and psychology as well. It is quite possible that Newman's quarrel with logic was the result of a misunderstanding, and that that misunderstanding had to do with the doctrine of universals. Similarly, the Illative Sense may be an expedient advanced to account for a fact which finds its true explanation only in a doctrine which reconciles thought with its objects and makes due allowance for its immateriality. The laws of thought are the same for all men, learned or no; and it is not enough to advance a solution of the equationist difficulty which, while apparently saving one class of minds from the accusation of being unreasonable, hurls another class, to paraphrase the reviewer in *The Tablet*, without hope, into the terrible abyss of scepticism. Nor do I urge what I have just put forward without serious justification. Let me quote from the *Grammar of Assent* a few passages that have a distinct bearing upon what I say. "Inference is conditional, because a conclusion at least implies the assumption of premisses, and still more, because *in concrete matter, on which I am engaged, demonstration is impossible.*"\* Again: "All things in the exterior world are unit and individual, and are nothing else; *but the mind not only contemplates those unit realities, as they exist, but has the gift, by an act of creation, of bringing before it abstractions and generalizations, which have no existence, no counterpart, out of it.*"† Or, as showing the sensory nature of apprehension, ". . . though I have eaten a hundred peaches in times past, the impression which remains on my

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\* *Grammar of Assent*, p. 8.

† *Ibid*, p. 9.

memory of the flavour, may be of any one of them, of the ten, twenty, thirty units, as the case may be, not a general notion, distinct from every one of them, and formed from all of them by a fabrication of my mind." \* And so: "If I am told 'there is a raging fire in London,' or 'London is on fire,' 'fire' need not be a common noun in my apprehension more than 'London.'" † Thus, in "rising from particulars to generals, that is from images to notions," we are told that "'man' is no longer what he really is, an individual presented to us by our senses, but as we read him in the light of those comparisons and contrasts *which we have made him suggest to us*. He is attenuated into an aspect, or relegated to his place in a classification. *Thus his appellation is made to suggest, not the real being which he is in this or that specimen of himself, but a definition*. If I might use a harsh metaphor, I should say *he is made the logarithm of his true self*, and in that shape is worked with the ease and satisfaction of logarithms." ‡ I hesitate to label this statement conceptualistic, but it certainly does not produce the impression of Moderate Realism. As we are told in another place that "notional apprehension is in itself an ordinary act of our common nature," § it would seem that we move often in an unreal world filled with false creations, bloodless abstractions, fleshless generalizations, having no existence, no counterpart, outside the mind. Moreover, we are told that "without experience assent is not real"; || that "theology, as such, always is notional, as being scientific; religion, as being personal, should be real." ¶ In other words, real assent cannot be given to other than the concrete results of individual experiences. Such a statement seems to have a decided tendency towards sensism, and, when taken with the second assertion, seems, moreover, to require personal experience as the groundwork of all true religion.

Further, in the paragraph upon Real Assent we are reminded that "in its notional assents as well as in its inferences, the mind *contemplates its own creations instead of things; in real, it is directed towards things represented*

\* *Ibid.*, p. 25.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

† *Ibid.*, p. 26.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 46.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 55.



by the impressions which they have left upon the imagination. These *images*, when assented to, have an influence both on the individual and on society, which mere notions cannot exert."\* Although in this and in similar passages there is a caveat providing for the possible immateriality of the mind's creations, and consequently, bearing in mind the explanatory passages in the section on Notional Assents, the author of the *Grammar* cannot be accused of altogether denying the universality of at least certain of our ideas ; yet the difficulty none the less presents itself in a new aspect under the imaginative nature of Real Assents : for the notion in the *Grammar* is not that through and by which the real is seized upon by the mind but itself the direct object of the intellect. Real Assents are "of a personal character, each individual having his own and being known by them. . . . But we cannot make sure, for ourselves or others, of real apprehension and assent, because we have to secure first the *images which are their objects*, and these are often peculiar and special. Real Assent, then, as the experience which it presupposes, is proper to the individual, and, as such, thwarts rather than promotes the intercourse of man with man."† This is, of course, precisely what one must say of the nature of sense-perceptions. If it is true also in the realm of reason, then the great majority of our apprehensions and assents have nothing in common with those of any other individual : and most of what we are pleased to call intellectual operations are no more than what is now-a-days, with more force than truth, called brute-cognition. If the statement is correct, then thought is as uniquely individual and incommunicable as the original sensations in which it had its origin. Any given concrete sensation is entirely personal. Unless, to use a rough metaphor, we can get the highest common factor of similar sensations ourselves and suppose a like one for others, the communication of thought becomes as impossible in fact as its genesis would be in an unrelated congeries of concrete facts or things. "After all man is *not* a reasoning animal ; he is a seeing,

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\* *Ibid*, p. 75.

† *Ibid*, p. 83.

feeling, contemplating, acting animal. He is influenced by what is direct and precise."\* Might not all this be said of any animal? More to the point, however, is a passage occurring in the section on Formal Inference. "We call rationality the distinction of man when compared with other animals. This is true in logic; but in fact a man differs from a brute, not in rationality only, but in all that he is, even in those respects in which he is most like a brute; so that his whole self, his bones, limbs, make, life, reason, moral feeling, immortality, and all that he is besides, in his real *differentia*, in contrast to a horse or a dog. And in like manner as regards John and Richard, when compared with one another; each is himself, and nothing else, and though, regarded abstractedly, the two may fairly be seen to have something in common (viz., that abstract sameness which does not exist at all), yet strictly speaking they have nothing in common, for each of them has a vested interest in all that he himself is; and, moreover, what seems to be common in the two, becomes in fact so uncommon, so *sui simile*, in their respective individualities—the bodily frame of each is so singled out from all other bodies by its special constitution, sound or weak, by its vitality, activity, pathological history and changes; and again, the mind of each is so distinct from all other minds, in dispositions, powers, and habits—that, instead of saying, as logicians say, that the two men differ only in number, we ought, I repeat, rather to say that they differ from each other in all that they are, in identity, in incommunicability, in personality."† Again: "I say, then, that *our most natural mode of reasoning* is, not from propositions to propositions, but from things to things, from concrete to concrete, from wholes to wholes."‡ And of the interpretations of genius he says: "It is difficult to avoid calling such clear presentiments by the name of instinct; and I think they may be so called, if by instinct be understood, not a natural sense, one and the same in all, and incapable of cultivation, but a perception of facts without assignable media of perceiving."§ Lastly, to

\* *Ibid*, p. 94.

† *Ibid*, p. 281.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 330.

§ *Ibid*, p. 334.

curtail a list of citations that might have been indefinitely prolonged, in the section devoted to a consideration of "The Nature of the Illative Sense," we find the following statement: ". . . In no class of concrete reasonings, whether in experimental science, historical research, or theology, is there any ultimate test of truth and error in our inferences besides the trustworthiness of the Illative Sense that gives them its sanction; just as there is no sufficient test of poetical excellence, heroic action, or gentleman-like conduct, other than the particular mental sense, be it genius, taste, sense of propriety, or the moral sense, to which those subject matters are severally committed. Our duty in each of these is to strengthen and perfect the special faculty which is its living rule, and in every case as it comes to do our best. And such also is our duty and our necessity as regards the Illative Sense."\* Were it not that it is not especially connected with the subject in hand, and had I not already overstepped the ordinary limits of space, I might pause to draw out at some length the consequences of this admission. The Illative Sense works with concrete things and probabilities. The reason deals with certain principles and conclusions. Both, in the last analysis, must be accepted without test; the Illative Sense for the reason just given by Newman; the reason because of its nature, the nature of its principles and the nexus between them and the conclusions it reaches.

Newman admits, of course, that this Illative Sense can make mistakes when "acting on mistaken elements of thought": but what is pertinent and noteworthy throughout is that this faculty has to do with concrete things—not with terms or bare ideas.

I said at the beginning that criticism and exposition were of little value, and yet I have to some extent in the foregoing pages been guilty of both. I offer, however, the excuse here that, to understand the point I am attempting to develop, a certain amount of quotation is necessary; and to keep quotation within reasonable bounds, a little

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\* *Ibid*, p. 359.

expository criticism as well may be permitted. I am conscious of the fact that the citations, long as they are, are meagre; but I can only hope that they will send those who are interested in the subject to the book itself. And so I trust that it will not be necessary now to set out in detail any concordance of divergency between the two doctrines which I have endeavoured to place before my readers—the one taken from the pages of the *Grammar of Assent*, the other epitomising the accepted teaching of the schools; for, I take it, the mere juxtaposition of the two cannot fail to show precisely what I meant by saying that the theory of universals was lacking in Cardinal Newman's treatise. Rightly or wrongly, the consequences of such an omission are enormous. It is because of it, I believe, more than on any other account, that the *Grammar of Assent* reads so curiously and vaguely unlike the work of its author; that so widely divergent are the philosophical views taken of its inner meaning, that the supporters of sensistic theories are able to quote the authority of a Cardinal of the Roman Church for their assertions. Dr. Barry has said that the language employed is remarkably unlike that of the schools. In *The Tablet*\* a critic writes that the work in no way represents the current and immemorial teaching of Catholic philosophical schools. But it is really not so much a question of language as of thought. For language, whether or no it be too rough and ready a medium, too loose and inaccurate in its nature to express fully the fineness and shades of meaning grasped by the mind in its subtle working, is the only medium we possess by which we can communicate our thoughts to others. We have nothing better, for we have nothing else. If, then, the language, terms and phrases, contour and style, is not the

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\* March 25th, 1899. Review of Dr. Fairbairn's work on "Catholicism." "Dr. Fairbairn," he writes, "is perfectly well aware that Cardinal Newman's *Grammar of Assent* in no way represents the current and immemorial teaching of Catholic philosophical schools. He knows well that the natural theology of our schools, whether English or continental, is based frankly and wholly on the appeal to reason, and he knows the definitions of the Vatican Council on this subject. He was reminded of these things with great emphasis by Dr. Barry in the *Contemporary Review*, but it suits him better simply to ignore these damaging facts. 'Cardinal Newman,' he persists, 'is here, beyond question, the representative man,' which is false."

language of the schools, it is because—we can bring forward no other reason—the underlying thoughts are not those of the scholastics. If the style is other than that of the Newman we know, it may be said with due reverence and with all deliberation, it is because the underlying thoughts, in this treatise written for the unscientific, are not even those which formed the natural basis of Newman's own mind. Writing and reading, the scholastic and the Cardinal are both at fault. Neither breathes a congenial atmosphere, and each misunderstands, as an inevitable consequence, the true mind of the other.

Had the eminent author of that library of writings that bear his name written only the *Apologia*, or the *Sermons*, or the *Development*, or even the historical treatises that are known so well and so justly valued as monuments of research and of erudition, his name would have become all that is synonymous with clearness of style, vigour of language, excellence of treatment, accuracy of thought, and brilliance of conception. Had Father Newman written the *Grammar of Assent* alone and then laid aside his busy pen, I question whether he would live at all to-day in his writing. He might be an obscure philosophical writer as many who have written are now, and he is not that. Fortunately the *Grammar of Assent* is not the work by which the great Cardinal will be judged by posterity. Though original, it is too technical to become really popular—a book for the specialist and impersonal in its nature. Has not the sure future already passed judgement by its silence? The estimate of his lifework and teaching have not been over much affected by it in the past. It is not likely that it will cast any shadow over the truer Newman of the other writings in time to come. Men will still learn—those, at any rate, to whom his personality is anything at all—the features of his patient, loving, and strong character in the pages of those works from which the present generation has principally formed its picture of the man. And the sharp criticisms which assailed the publication of this his work, the learned controversies which grew up around its contents as it passed into wider circulation, will pass away with it and be forgotten, with less permanent effect and faster than the

memory of those three hundred years, full of strong and living personalities so picturesquely grouped about that central doctrine of the universals, has, in that one point at least, faded into the oblivion of the *temporis acti*. No; John Henry Newman will never live as the Newman of the *Grammar of Assent* alone. It will be fitted into its subordinate place in the mosaic of literature which he has bequeathed to the English language. And just as the contrast of sombre tesserae in the one throws into greater prominence the brilliant colours of the design, so the shades and images of the *Grammar of Assent* will serve but to enhance the beauty of Cardinal Newman's truer work.

F. AVELING.

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## ART. III.—NELSON AND NAPOLEON IN 1805.

THE battle of Trafalgar means very much more to Great Britain than the triumph of her arms on a great occasion. It secured for us complete and certain immunity from those miseries which were suffered by almost every nation in Europe, though indeed all real danger of invasion had been dispelled, as I shall have occasion to show later on, more than two months before that momentous conflict took place. But over and above this, it is to Nelson's great victory that the eventual overthrow of Napoleon may undoubtedly be traced, and by consequence it is the starting point of that great expansion of England which is one of the most notable features of the nineteenth century. The absolute dominion of the seas, which was the immediate result of Trafalgar, enabled Great Britain to engage in the Peninsular War, which not only restored the tarnished reputation of the British Army and won for it immortal renown, but also, by the great drain upon the resources of Napoleon which it occasioned, contributed very materially to his fall. The failure of the British arms in the American War of Independence, followed a dozen years later by the Duke of York's ill-starred campaigns in the Low Countries against the French Republic, had impaired very seriously our military prestige in the eyes of the world. After the contest in Spain and Portugal and the campaign of Waterloo, Britain emerged from the struggle with a military renown greater than she had ever before enjoyed, and she received on that account the highest consideration. But, more important than this, Trafalgar won for her the absolute supremacy of the seas, and gave the world's commerce into her hands. To a naval dominion more commanding



than that of Spain in the sixteenth century she added a commercial supremacy greater than that of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth. The general result is seen in that extraordinary growth and prosperity of which the end is not yet.

History has shown conclusively that in a war between this country and any other great Power the final victory invariably goes to the nation which is strongest on the seas. To say nothing of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the days of Elizabeth, it was the possession of sea power that gave to Cromwell so potent a voice in the councils of Europe. It was the failure of Louis XIV. to carry out the enlightened maritime policy of his great minister Louvois that lost him the opportunity of suppressing William of Orange, both in 1688 and 1689, and that later on brought upon him the disasters which shook his power so sorely during the campaigns of Marlborough in the reign of William's successor. It was the overwhelming superiority of England on the sea that gave her such conspicuous successes under the administration of Chatham during the Seven Years' War. The struggle, as Seeley has pointed out, was really for colonial empire, and naturally the importance of sea power in such a contest manifested itself even more clearly than in former wars. Hawke's great naval victory off Belleisle, in 1759, destroyed the project—if it was seriously meant—of a French descent upon England, and the naval war really decided the question as to which of the two great Powers was to rule in America and in the East and West Indies. France then perceived the immense importance of maritime power, and great efforts were made to build and equip navies that might challenge the supremacy of Great Britain on the ocean. The result was seen in the American war of Independence. Beyond all question it was the French naval operations that eventually secured victory to the revolted States. In the East Indies, indeed, the French, under the brilliant Suffren, had the best of the naval war. In the West Indies and off the American coast the naval honours on the whole remained with England, and Rodney's great victory over De Grasse off Martinique, in 1782, was the most signal

success obtained at sea during the whole war. Still, the French won some successes in the West Indies, and grievously interfered with the British military operations against the colonists. The surrender of Yorktown was due to their co-operation. No doubt American independence was sooner or later inevitable, but that it was achieved during that particular war was due beyond question to the navy of France, in spite of the fact that, on the whole, the naval honours remained with Great Britain. The French Republic had no sort of idea of the important part maritime operations must needs play in a great war. On the accession of Napoleon to power, however, a very different view prevailed. His ambition designed a vast world empire, greater even than Britain has since become, for he resolved to be dominant by land and by sea. Such a power was only possible to a nation that had control of the ocean. "Ships, colonies, and commerce are what I want," he remarked to some of the Austrian officers who surrendered to him at Ulm. But the lordship of the seas had already decidedly passed to Britain, and there was little prospect, when he assumed the Imperial diadem, of his being able to dispute it with her, at any rate for many years to come. Meanwhile, she rode triumphant on the seas, and possessed control of the world's commerce, and was thus able not only to set him at defiance, but also to organise continental coalitions against him and subsidise them to a vast extent. She was the life and soul of the hostility to him on the Continent as well as the insurmountable obstacle to his schemes of colonial expansion. Yet her military resources were far inferior to his own, and could he but cross the Channel in sufficient force, he might deliver an overwhelming blow which would at once remove her from his path and deprive his continental foes of the large supplies which enabled them to carry on the struggle against him. England was the decisive point, and Napoleon invariably threw himself with all his force upon the decisive point whatever it might be. He determined to invade this country with a force so numerous and so perfectly equipped that the blow would be irresistible. The difficulty, which seemed insuperable, was that in order to

effect the passage he must possess command of the Channel. The fleets of Great Britain were far more numerous than his own, and their efficiency was immensely superior. Under the circumstances, to attempt the transport of an army of 150,000 men with artillery, horses, and other equipment seemed a perfectly hopeless undertaking. Nelson, who appreciated the difficulties better than Napoleon himself, did not for two years believe the threat was seriously meant, and regarded the Mediterranean as the real scene of operations. In spite, however, of the enormous difficulties which would have effectually daunted a man of less commanding genius and energy, Napoleon resolved to make the attempt. His combinations directed to this end were so profound, his strategy, to use Mahan's phrase, so "immense," that no one among the naval commanders or statesmen of Great Britain fathomed his real designs, and it was not until circumstances had rendered his scheme abortive that this country really grasped the magnitude of the danger she had so narrowly escaped.

A few months ago Mr. Balfour assured Parliament and the country that in the opinion of the Government and its expert advisers an invasion of this country in force is to all intents and purposes impossible. Anyone who has carefully studied the military and naval history of 1805 will hesitate to accept this very confident assurance. The Government a hundred years ago was almost equally confident. It is true that when they became cognisant of the immense armaments collected along the north-west coast of France, they called out the militia, enlisted the services of many thousands of volunteers, erected forts and coast batteries, and made preparations for resisting a possible descent upon the coast. But as far as fleets were concerned the Channel was left almost unguarded. To Napoleon's small craft they thought it sufficient to oppose small craft on their part, which would have been entirely useless had a large French fleet suddenly appeared, with no adequate English fleet to oppose it. Nor did our naval commanders take Napoleon's projected expedition seriously. Nelson, to whose genius, audacity, and vigour the overthrow of the great plan was so largely due, never saw

through the strategy of the French Emperor, neither did Collingwood, who was convinced that an expedition from Brest to Ireland was the real design. The fact is that the miscarriage of Napoleon's immense preparations for the invasion of England was due as much to vacillation and lack of enterprise on Admiral Villeneuve's part as to the unparalleled exertions of Nelson. There can be little doubt that if at one or two critical moments the French naval commander had displayed the resolution and energy of a Suffren or even of a d'Orvilliers, Napoleon would have gained the command of the Channel for the time necessary for the transport of his army to these shores. There is no reason why that which so nearly happened then might not actually occur in the future, more especially as the revolution which has taken place since those days in the means of transport both by land and sea renders such an undertaking on the face of it more feasible than in the time of Napoleon. The great Emperor displayed all his matchless powers of stratagem in his preparations for this vast expedition. He was quite unrivalled in the art of deceiving his adversary, and as far as his own work was concerned he was entirely successful. His plan was to concentrate an immense force on the coast of France in full view of our shores, without the slightest attempt to conceal their destination, and to collect at the same time a vast flotilla heavily armed, and sufficient in its equipment to effect the descent, as far as appearances went, without the assistance of a fleet. Great Britain would thus be entirely deceived as to the real nature of his operations, and would be content to oppose to his armed transports and gunboats small armed vessels and gunboats of her own, aided by a few frigates and battleships of line—a force quite sufficient to work havoc among the slow moving transports, crowded with soldiers, horses and artillery, and which was fully equal to reproduce on a more terrible scale the defeat of the Spanish Armada a couple of centuries before. The British fleets were occupied in watching those of Napoleon in Toulon, Rochefort and Brest, so that the Channel was left comparatively unguarded against the descent of a great French fleet. The way was thus left open for the great

operation which was the main feature of Napoleon's design. This was that the Toulon fleet should sail out, and deceiving Nelson as to its destination, should pass through the Straits of Gibraltar and make for Rochefort, should release the squadron there from the British blockade, which its very superior force would enable it to do, and that the combined fleets should then enter the Channel where there was no force capable of resisting them, and so cover the great flotilla and enable it to effect the passage unharmed. To complete the deception of Nelson a military force was embarked with the Toulon fleet. This ruse entirely succeeded, for Nelson was quite convinced that an expedition in the Mediterranean, probably to Egypt, was intended. The fleet at Brest, which was blockaded by Cornwallis, was also to embark a force of 20,000 men, and it was allowed to leak out that Ireland was its object. This had the effect of deceiving Collingwood, who, though rather too late, penetrated further into Napoleon's design than anyone else. He believed that the threatened descent upon Ireland from Brest was the real aim of all Napoleon's strategy. He did not guess, any more than did Nelson, that the French Emperor's whole object was to bring a fleet suddenly into the Channel to cover his own descent upon England. It was natural enough that everybody should have been misled. Napoleon had employed every conceivable stratagem and had spared no expense to make it appear that he believed that his great flotilla was perfectly capable of effecting the passage unaided. It was armed with upwards of two thousand heavy guns—a weight of metal as great as that of the British fleet at Trafalgar. He had taken care to let it be known that he himself considered it amply strong enough to force a passage for itself, and, indeed, he did this so well, that despite all the evidence as to his real design, there are still writers who believe that such was his original intention. Yet, as Alison remarks, the two thousand guns were a mere blind. Not one of them was meant to be fired. The real covering force was to be his own fleet from the harbours of Toulon and Rochefort, as we have seen, which should decoy the bulk of the British fleet to the West Indies, and return with all

imaginable speed to cover the invading force while the British were many days' sail off in the Atlantic. Thus Napoleon would possess an immense superiority at the decisive point, although on the whole he was greatly inferior in naval force to his adversary, a manœuvre which he always said was of the essence of great generalship.

The invasion was originally intended to be accomplished during the year 1804, but several circumstances interposed to prevent it. One of these was the death of Latouche Tréville, the most enterprising of Napoleon's admirals, who was in command of the Toulon fleet. His successor, Villeneuve, was a skilful seaman, but of a more cautious and less energetic disposition, and the Emperor's combinations were modified to suit him. Another hindrance was the close blockade maintained by Cornwallis at Brest. Towards the close of the year it seemed probable that Spain would join France in the war: indeed Napoleon knew perfectly well that he could count on her alliance, and the invasion was postponed until 1805, when the Spanish fleet also would be at his service—a material addition to his naval resources. In spite of that the projected invasion had a better chance of success in 1804 than in the following year. England was then engaged in the war single-handed, and was also less prepared for the descent upon her shores. If the French Emperor had landed, he would no doubt have obtained some important military successes at the outset, and probably would have taken London. It is highly improbable that he would have subdued the spirit of the nation. He had no possible means of reinforcing his army, for the English fleets would soon be in command of the Channel. He would have experienced the truth of the remark made by Moltke some seventy years later, that it is quite possible to get an army into England, but the difficulty would be to get it out again. England might have elected to continue the struggle here until her enemy was at last annihilated. On the other hand the contest would be so awful, and the misery of the people so great, that she might have been content to make him feel the impossibility of his position and then have made peace on honourable terms and let him go. In 1804 there was, from Napoleon's point

of view, plenty of time for all this. But the British Government was not sitting still. Mr. Pitt was engaged in forming another great coalition against Napoleon, and in 1805 he was aware that Austria and Russia had responded to the representations of the British Prime Minister, and that France would have to meet them in arms. If Napoleon had landed here early in August, 1805, as he intended, it was imperatively necessary that he should conquer the country and obtain peace within six weeks. Otherwise he would be isolated here, without any possibility of immediate return, while Austria would be ready to invade France in September and Russia would follow a month later. Britain had but to hold out resolutely, no matter how great her sufferings and disasters, and her adversary would be irretrievably ruined and would become sooner or later a fairly easy prey.

In January, 1805, Villeneuve made an abortive attempt to escape from Toulon, but two months later he was more fortunate, and eluding Nelson he sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar, released the Spanish ships which were blockaded by Sir John Orde at Ferrol, and hurried off to his rendezvous in the West Indies. Never were the genius, the audacity, the instant decision and indomitable energy of Nelson more conspicuous than during those momentous weeks which followed Villeneuve's escape. His station was the Mediterranean, the Atlantic was outside his sphere of operations, and an ordinary commander would doubtless have kept his station and notified the Admiralty of the escape of the Toulon fleet and left his superiors to deal with the new situation. Undoubtedly Napoleon calculated on this, and expected that a considerable fleet, part of which would be furnished by Cornwallis' fleet off Brest, would be despatched in pursuit. Nelson, however, with only half the force possessed by the French Admiral, started in pursuit as soon as adverse gales allowed him, without dreaming of refitting or of reinforcements. Beyond all question it was this splendid decision of Nelson and the dauntless courage and vigour with which he carried it out, joined to the hesitation of the French Admiral, that ultimately overthrew all Napoleon's great designs for our destruction.

Villeneuve had arrived at Martinique on May 14th, and



Nelson, although he started from Europe five weeks after him, arrived at Barbados on June 4th, having gained a fortnight on the voyage. So close were the two fleets at this time that, had not Nelson been misled by erroneous information from Brereton, the Governor of St. Lucia, the victory of Trafalgar might have been anticipated by four months. Other circumstances unfortunately appeared to confirm the false information. Nelson, much against his own will, had no choice but to act upon it, and so missed his opportunity. The French Admiral, on learning that Nelson had arrived in the West Indies, determined not to wait until June 23rd—the date fixed by Napoleon—and set sail for Europe on the 8th. Nelson had saved the colonies and an immense amount of British merchandise. When he heard of the enemy's departure he at once suspected some ulterior combination on the part of Napoleon, and thereupon dispatched a fast sailing brig to warn the British Government of the danger, in case he himself again missed them. This step was the salvation of England. Nelson certainly arrived in European waters nearly a week before Villeneuve, but he did not encounter him nor could he obtain any information. However, the Admiralty on the receipt of Nelson's energetic despatch acted with commendable promptitude. Sir Robert Calder was sent with fifteen ships of the line to intercept the allied fleet, and succeeded. The two fleets met on July 22nd, a hundred and fifty miles off Cape Finisterre, and although the action was of a very different character from Nelson's tremendous sea fights, still Calder took two Spanish ships and caused Villeneuve to enter Vigo to refit. So far Napoleon's plans had been checked.

Although Nelson's vigorous and untiring pursuit, and the instant information despatched to the Admiralty, had been the means of averting danger for the present, the great Admiral himself was singularly unfortunate in his efforts to encounter the allied fleet. He was back again off the coast of Spain on July 17th, five days before Villeneuve's return. After a short cruise round about the Straits of Gibraltar he again endeavoured to find them off the Spanish and Portuguese coasts, and satisfied that they

were somewhere to the northward, he traversed the Bay of Biscay, and finally stood over for the north-west coast of Ireland, in case Collingwood's belief that Ireland was the enemy's real objective should be correct. Nothing was heard of them there, and finally, on August 15th, he joined Cornwallis off Brest. Thus terminated his memorable four months' pursuit, during which he had never been within reach of the enemy, yet by which he had undoubtedly saved the country from the greatest danger that had threatened it since the sailing of the Spanish Armada.

After the check he had received from Sir Robert Calder, Villeneuve still had a chance of carrying out the manœuvre dictated by Napoleon. But he was too leisurely and undecided in his movements. He liberated the Spanish squadron at Ferrol from its blockade, and then prepared to sail north and enter the Channel. Cornwallis, too, made a serious mistake in detaching Calder with half of his fleet to intercept him, thus seriously weakening himself at Brest. Villeneuve, however, hesitated, and finally abandoned the attempt, and sailed south for Cadiz on August 16th. Perhaps it was as well, for on the previous day Nelson had joined Cornwallis, and had the French Admiral kept on his course he might have had cause to regret the days he had wasted in Vigo and Ferrol. In this way Napoleon's gigantic design for the invasion of England was frustrated. Villeneuve was of course blockaded in Cadiz after his arrival there, and all possibility of a command of the Channel even for a single hour was lost.

The battle of Trafalgar, on the 21st October, the most memorable maritime conflict in our history, was the fitting crown of Nelson's heroic efforts. Napoleon's scheme of invasion had indeed been abandoned long before: and the army that was to have landed on these shores was at the moment of Trafalgar rejoicing over the surrender of the Austrian army under Mack at Ulm, having left Boulogne some six weeks before. Nevertheless, Trafalgar made us, once and for all, secure. As Southey remarks, the fleets of the enemy were not merely defeated but destroyed; new navies must be built and a new race of seamen reared for them before the possibility of their invading our shores

could again be contemplated. But the immense and daring scheme of Napoleon, with all its profound and masterly combinations, was defeated by the naval manœuvres between May and August, in which not a shot was fired save in Calder's comparatively indecisive action off Finisterre. Nelson's heroic pursuit, his despatch to England of the *Curieux* with the information of Villeneuve's return, the energy of the Admiralty in the instant despatching of Calder, the latter's action already referred to, and finally the junction of Nelson's fleet with that of Cornwallis on August 15th, were the strokes that won for England complete immunity from the danger which had threatened her so long.

While we are keeping the centenary of Nelson's magnificent achievements, which had their fitting culmination at Trafalgar, our neighbours across the Channel, in spite of their complete failure in the naval war, can also, if they please, observe a centenary of successes on land as glorious as our own upon the sea. Napoleon is as certainly the greatest general of modern times—perhaps of all time—as Nelson is the greatest Admiral, and his extraordinary mastery of the art of war was never more conspicuous than in the campaigns which began the last week in September and ended on December 2nd, when Austria and Russia were prostrated at the battle of Austerlitz. At the beginning of September the French Emperor's great army was still encamped at Boulogne. Although the era of railways was still in the distant future, so rapid were Napoleon's movements that in three weeks' time his army was enveloping the first Austrian army, 80,000 strong under General Mack, and in another three weeks that army had melted away before Napoleon's manœuvres, although no great battle had been fought, and a remnant of 30,000 finally surrendered at Ulm on October 20th, the day before Trafalgar. In another three weeks, namely, on November 13th, Napoleon was in possession of Vienna, and in three weeks more the united Russian and Austrian army was overwhelmed in the glorious victory of Austerlitz. In ten weeks he had overthrown Austria, defeated the efforts of Russia, and dissolved the coalition formed by Pitt against

him. England certainly had cause to rejoice that the general and the army that accomplished these wonderful feats had been frustrated in their intention of landing in this country.

The two great nations, which happily in this year, 1805, are upon terms so friendly and cordial, emerged from the struggle of 1805 with an equal amount of honour. Each country had been threatened by a great danger, and each had issued from it triumphant. In July Great Britain was in gravest peril of an invasion, which—whatever the ultimate result—must have wrought the most appalling misery the nation had ever known. Her great naval triumphs freed her from all alarm, and rendered her as secure from outrage as if no enemy existed. In September France was threatened by a peril almost as great. She was at war at once with England, Austria and Russia. Her fleets were blockaded. Her enemies on land were in far superior numbers. These three great powers seemed to be more than a match even for Napoleon, and the danger which in the summer had threatened England appeared in early autumn to threaten France. Prussia, too, was only awaiting a check to France in order to join in the coalition against her. Yet within ten weeks the overpowering genius of Napoleon dissolved the whole coalition, and in spite of her maritime disasters France dominated the Continent, and was imposing her will on the nations of Europe. Mr. Pitt considered Austerlitz more than a counterpoise to Trafalgar. The blow killed him. But he was mistaken. Nelson's great victory was really the turning point of the war. England was really secured from invasion, as we have seen, when Villeneuve turned away from the Channel on August 16th. Trafalgar gave her the absolute domination of the seas. The commerce of the world fell into her hands. She became the bank of Europe. Wherever a vessel could ride she ruled, and she could check Napoleon at innumerable points, despite his colossal land-power, without the smallest possibility of reprisal worth counting. She was able to come to the assistance of Spain in the Peninsular War, and to occupy for years thousands of the best troops of Napoleon. This war gave the Emperor

singularly little concern from 1809 to 1812; but it was assuredly the cause of his failure at the close of 1813 at Leipzig, and again of his fall at the close of his brilliant campaign in 1814. Had Soult's troops been at his disposal either at Leipzig or after Arcis-sur-Aube, it is abundantly certain that he would have triumphed, in spite of the retreat from Moscow. But when they were most needed they were engaged in endeavouring to arrest the onward march of Wellington. We, therefore, judging at a distance from the events in question, are better able to estimate the ultimate bearing of any particular success or failure than were the greatest and wisest men of the time. To most European politicians of that day, as in the case of our own Pitt, the check to Napoleon at Trafalgar was as nothing compared with the conquest at Ulm and the thunderbolt at Austerlitz. In point of fact we now see that Trafalgar decided the ultimate issue of the Revolutionary War and the development of the British Empire; whereas of the two empires defeated at Austerlitz, Russia was able to renew the struggle without effort a year later, and Austria did the same three years after Austerlitz with considerably greater forces than in 1805; and though she was again worsted, yet the contest was of a much severer and less one-sided character than during the campaigns of Ulm and Austerlitz.

It is quite obvious to us nowadays that in a war between two countries which have no conterminous frontiers sea power must prove the decisive factor. That has been shown, as we have seen, several times in our history. We observe that it was true in ancient times, as in the wars between Rome and Carthage; and in our own day the contest between Spain and the United States, and the war just terminated between Russia and Japan demonstrate the overwhelming importance of sea power. Indeed, in these days when the great Powers are seeking for unclaimed territories to provide for colonial expansion, and depend for much of their prosperity—if not all of it—upon sea-borne commerce, the principle is more clear than in days gone by. It is equally certain that sea power, to be effective, requires the support also of a well equipped and efficient land force. Our great victory at Trafalgar would have failed of much of

its effect had it not been followed up by Wellington's immortal campaigns in Spain and Portugal, and by the final victory of Waterloo. Nor would Japan, however triumphant at sea, be in her present position but for the success of her army in Manchuria. She could have protected herself effectually against Russia, and could also have inflicted great annoyance upon her by virtue of her sea power ; but she could have gained little if anything by the war if she had been unable to cope with her enemy on land. The moral of all this is that Great Britain, however strong at sea, cannot by any means afford to dispense with an adequate and efficient army. She tried the experiment, as a matter of fact, in the early stages of the Revolutionary War. The result was that, in spite of her splendid successes at sea, she did practically nothing to stay the onward march of the French Revolutionary Government, and when peace was made at Amiens in 1802 the general honours of the struggle rested in public estimation with France. After Trafalgar she came to a better mind, and Wellington's campaigns made all the difference, though he was hardly supported as he should have been. It is sincerely to be hoped that the nation has learned its lesson, and that the next Government—whatever be its political complexion—will do for the Army what has been, as far as we can see, so well done for the Navy.

A. ST. LEGER WESTALL.

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## ART. IV.—RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES IN LONDON.

1. *Life and Labour of the People in London.* By CHARLES BOOTH. First Series: "Poverty," 4 vols. Second Series: "Industry," 5 vols. Third Series: "Religious Influences," 8 vols.; map. London: Macmillan and Co. 1902.
2. *Poverty: "A Study of Town Life."* By B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE. London: Macmillan and Co. 1903.

### PART III.

IN the April and July numbers of this REVIEW Mr. Charles Booth's survey of religious influences in London was under consideration; and there it was pointed out that while he gave unstinted praise to good work, wherever found, he was unsparing in indicating weak spots. Some of these were discussed. But there yet remains to notice how, in the course of his investigations, Mr. Booth has put his finger on various other blemishes not hitherto referred to. This he has done, partly by quoting the frank admissions of plain-spoken and out-spoken clergymen, partly as the result of his own keen and subtle powers of observation. Some beneficed clergymen make strange admissions. One, for instance, asserts that "the weakness of the Church is the habit of advertisement and love of applause," this fault being laid especially at the doors of the Low Church. Again: "'You can run your Church on commercial lines, and get a kind of success, but it is buying gold too dear.' 'Exaggeration,' says another, 'is the bane of the Church, resulting in competition to



show numbers.' For God's work there is, says a third, too much of the feeling 'this is grist for my mill' . . . 'When the Church does seem to get hold, it is by lavish expenditure.' 'Its influence . . . is based almost entirely on expectation of some temporal benefit.'\* There are, then, two ugly words, "advertisement" and "bribery," to define what is described above in somewhat circumlocutory phrase. That it is not the complaint merely of some atrabilious misanthrope, to be passed by as querulous and exaggerated fault-finding, similar evidence must be here adduced, showing that bribery, veiled or open, is practised on all sides, by all the sects.

Of a certain church in Bethnal Green it is averred of a late incumbent that he "maintained a small congregation by doles given in church."† A church in Whitechapel comes in for somewhat severe strictures from Mr. Booth. The reader shall judge whether they are not merited. "The congregations, morning and evening, are small. . . . There is a crowded service at one of the mission halls on Sunday afternoons, and it is significant of the class of people to be dealt with here, and the difficulties of the parochial task, that it should be described as the most interesting service that is held. It is for the destitute, and at its close each person receives a piece of bread and a cup of coffee. . . . But it is a question whether the church can be justified in such action. . . . And as to religion, what good is likely to result?"‡ Experience should teach that the service is sat through—endured—for the sake of the subsequent dole. Another church in the same region provides "a daily service for men in a 'refuge,' where the charge for the night's lodging is one penny. To these men a free breakfast is given on Sunday morning, *after which they are expected to come to church.*"§ A South London vicar writes that he raises his "emphatic protest against the wholesale pauperising which follows [the charity dispensed by the missions, so mischievous in its

\* *Life and Labour of the People in London*. Third Series, Vol. VII., 39. Unless otherwise specified, the references will all be to volumes of the Third Series.

† II., 79.

‡ II., 16.

§ II., 25, *italics mine*.

effects], unintentionally, no doubt, from many of them. Either as a reward for, or to encourage and promote attendance at services, doles and gifts in money or kind are distributed often with a lavish hand with the most utter disregard of all sound principles of charity. As a result there are in this neighbourhood many who go from mission room to mission room for what they can pick up."\* In the district of Hoxton and Clerkenwell, matters are so well managed, in one instance, that Mr. Booth says none of the other churches of the Establishment "show anything comparable to the congregations and organisation of the High Church." Then referring to the competition between them and the Wesleyans, he proceeds: "How keen the struggle is, may be seen from the fact that even the Evangelical clergy complain of its character, and are full of indignation with the 'poaching and bribery,' for which it is asserted the Wesleyans are chiefly responsible—'sticking at nothing.'"† Nonconformists throw back this charge; a minister in Bloomsbury says that "the Church is charged with winning by the power of the purse."‡ The Baptists of Deptford, who have two mission halls in the poor parts of that district, are credited with "assisting their adherents." The report runs thus: "A few women are attracted, but, as usual, there is complete failure as to men. 'Those who are really touched you may count on the fingers of your hand.' It is, indeed, to be feared that the people connected with the mission organisation come in the main for what they can get. 'They require to be helped, and will take all you can give them.' All the adherents are assisted in some way in the course of the year."§ How internecine the resulting competition is, may be seen from the accompanying extracts. In Bethnal Green we have the history of a struggle between the Evangelicals and the High Church "for the souls and bbdies of the children; and yet there would seem to be plenty of work for both. It is *dole versus* *dole*, and *treat versus* *treat*, a contest openly admitted on both sides, while the people, taking the gifts with either hand, explain how careful they must be, when attending a

\* IV., 21.

† II., 148.

‡ II., 173.

§ V., 31.

service, that the other side knows nothing of it. This atrocious system, based on the delusive claim of each party to a monopoly of religious truth, is injurious to both, as well as to the recipients of their demoralising bounties." \* At Putney, too, a similar story is told, but with aggravating circumstances, of "school children who have been got together by arduous competition. 'A vicious system,' said the minister with great frankness; 'we started two treats and got more children, but all the others now give two also; all the churches in Putney are alike in their hunt for children, and the parents think they do you a favour if they send their children to you.' 'Well,' a parent will say, 'if you are not pleased with my child, so-and-so's have a better treat than yours, and I shall send her to their school.'" † Religion by bribery may be found wherever it is looked for, as, for instance, in the following description of a "Sunday service for tramps, attended by about 500 men and perhaps 50 women. To each is given a cup of cocoa and a piece of bread. In winter the place is full. . . . The same men often have been to some other mission . . . for their breakfast. They take the Gospel as it comes, and if asked to stay for an after-meeting will remain in the hope of getting something more to eat. [The general verdict Mr. Booth gives is]: looked at as a local religious influence, its value is probably extremely small, and socially it may even be a minus quantity; but even if in some ways mistaken, it is undoubtedly an honest enterprise" ‡—yes; but merely eleemosynary and philanthropic, like a soup kitchen. To those who know something about the tramp and his unlovely ways, there is little difficulty in realising that he will endure any length of prayer and sermon for the sake of a meal, but will depart, when he has attained his object, absolutely untouched. The effort to gain his attention will have been so much wasted time, so far as he was concerned. A certain undenominational mission is mentioned by Mr. Booth 'run' by a young man employed in a large draper's shop, helped by twenty-five others working in the same place of business. "For so small a mission

\* II., 95.

† V., 213-4.

‡ II., 152.

much relief is given, and in a way that would not meet with the approval of the Charity Organisation Society. The Sunday morning breakfasts commence about November and continue to March; they attract 150 to 160 men each morning. The meal lasts from nine to ten, and is followed by a short service from ten to eleven . . . those who get to know him [the leader] will ask for money for lodging."\* This extract shows the earnestness of religious-minded people, who would repudiate the notion that they were bribing; but that is the only properly descriptive word to use. Even so, such methods are not always and everywhere successful in attaining the desired results; and Mr. Booth has some severe remarks to make on this point, applicable to all the churches, though in this particular instance directed against the Presbyterians in the valley of the Wandle. Though the visitors of this body "are strictly forbidden to suggest attendance at church as a return for relief, [yet] the good ladies cannot be prevented from giving shillings, and, on the whole, there is a good deal of 'competition in giving,' and of 'subsidy by way of relief,' while a special point is made of there being 'no collection,' out of regard for those who 'cannot afford to pay for their religion.' The whole state of affairs appears to be summed up in the words 'appalling bribery'; and, in truth, most of this mission work bears the character of galvanised activity without one spark of vitality. Not after this fashion will spiritual destitution ever be met. In printed reports results are claimed which cannot be substantiated; and it could hardly be otherwise, for to fail touches the honour of religion; and to put the best possible face on the matter is very natural. Unless it be used for purposes of begging, such 'economy of truth' is, perhaps, even excusable, but to us in conversation the admissions of failure have been unusually frank."†

The ill-effects of bribery are seen in the resultant growth of cadging thereby encouraged and fostered. That this evil should be rampant can surprise no one who has realised the miserable story just unfolded of the induce-

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\* III., 208.

† V., 202.

ments to it held out, which destroy self-respect and pauperise those of the working class who fall a prey to it. Of a mission service for the poor of Starch Green [Hammersmith], it is said that it is of no avail, for they only attend "if tea is provided."\* To the Westminster poor "a good deal goes in charity. 'They are awful beggars'; and even by the Roman Catholics the danger is felt here of the people learning to look upon the priest as a person who may be expected to give."† It is also said of this neighbourhood that "the women will go where they are helped, and in some of these a rather debased form of piety is aroused."‡ A clergyman working in Smithfield says of the women of his district, very kindly but also with a keen sense of humour, "I never knew mothers work so hard; they often manage to attend four or five [mothers'] meetings in the week. Whoever wants charitable relief here obtains it."§ In Whitechapel it is asserted that "the poor are found very difficult to reach, having been spoilt in the past . . . but this . . . is not so much the fault of the visitors, as due to the painstaking efforts of the poor, who, in order to benefit as much as possible, 'trot from meeting to meeting.'"

¶ The result of all this ill-regulated charity and the competition it necessarily engenders is, that the poor are not slow to put a price upon their patronage of the more promising agencies. Great difficulty is, in consequence, experienced in securing congregations. Churches and missions are said to be equal offenders in this competition by bribery, and the upshot is that "the people have been utterly pauperised and demoralised; and if asked to come to meetings, or send their children to school, say openly 'What do you give?'"

¶ This cadging scramble for relief is alluded to somewhat cynically by one, in special reference to Lisson Grove, as "one of the minor industries."\*\* The consensus of opinion on this topic is remarkable. Thus a certain clergyman said of the Established Church that it "has been a great deal too eager to use doubtful means to get hold of the people. They have been pandered to, and fed with sops

\* III. 165.

† III. 85.

‡ III. 81.

§ III. 40.

|| II. 25.

¶ III., 41.

\*\* I., 201.

and doles. They don't understand that you are concerned with their souls, and do not want to see you unless you have something to give them, and children get the same ideas."\* Mr. Booth, it would seem, has no illusions about the demoralising tendency of the system and of the extent of the harm it is doing. "The failure of the religious side of the work of all these churches and chapels amongst the poor," he writes, "is also admitted on all hands, great though the efforts are; and much is said of the demoralising results of the ways in which charitable relief is given, and of competition in treats and entertainments. 'The poor remain outside, but come for help'; 'they expect the Church to help them'; 'are friendly, of course, because we give them so much help'; 'they come in hope of charitable relief'; 'we cannot visit without giving. The mission is the recognised channel for the charity of the well-to-do, and relief is expected.' 'The poor are great cadgers, and quite indifferent to religion unless wanting something. They are not hostile, they merely "can't be bothered."'" The overlapping of 'every conceivable religious influence' is spoken of."† These are some of the significant admissions which Mr. Booth has elicited, and mothers' meetings also come under condemnation as subject to abuse. They are referred to as 'miserable work'; and the mothers as 'a hardened set,' managing, as we have already seen, to attend two or three or more meetings, solely for what they can pick up. The worst of it is, that while so many deplore, apparently so few try to counteract the harm, and continue to employ these methods of helping all comers without inquiry or discrimination. Relief so given and received has a strong tendency to foster hypocrisy and deceit. Take, for instance, the following picture. The congregations of a certain church in Whitechapel are small morning and evening; but "there is a crowded service at one of the mission halls on Sunday afternoon, and it is significant of the class of people to be dealt with here, and the difficulties of the parochial task, that it should be described as the most interesting service that is held.

\* I., 211.

† I., 132.

It is for the destitute, and at its close each person receives a piece of bread and a cup of coffee. It may be that these people will not come on other terms: 'Shall man serve God for naught?' But it is a question whether the church can be justified in such action, helping, so far as it goes, absolutely without discrimination, to make mere existence, and harmful existence, more possible. And as to religion, what good is likely to result?"\* The service is endured for the sake of the dole, which is the primary attraction; but that this can be the only possible result never seems to cross the minds of these misguided philanthropic church people. It is true that pity at the sufferings and hardships of the poor is at the root of this harmful system of relief; its defenders may urge that it is better that ten undeserving beggars should be helped than that one genuine case of distress should go unrelieved; but, on the other hand, some tribute is due to the saving virtues of discretion and discrimination. Such feelings of pity, moreover, though they do credit to the kindness of heart of those thus striving to help their neighbour, are not a monopoly of the religious-minded. Indeed, what is so striking about all this effort is, that so much of it seems to lie outside the limits of religious influence altogether. Pagans might, and do, show equal concern for the needs of the poor. The only good effected, in a religious sense—that is, as drawing souls nearer to God—is in the helpers, not in the helped. What can be said of the following extract from a Baptist Church Manual, than that it may, and no doubt does foster kindness; but a great stretch of imagination is needed to detect the religious element, or any direct spiritual benefit as likely to accrue either to donors or recipients. The "Home Mission Sunshine Section" of a Young Christians' Own Society, besides "visiting the needy and distributing clothes and soup, bread and coal tickets"—all very admirable works of charity, it will readily be admitted—"has also supplied and dressed twenty-four dolls. . . . It also supplies at each Wednesday meeting flowers for the table, which are afterwards sent to some sick friend, and

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\* II., 16.



places in the pulpit every Sunday morning a small bouquet and cheering message"\* for the pastor. We read of another mission that it "devotes special attention to cripples, and flowers are taken to children lying sick in hospital"†—a most laudable and excellent object, but hardly a *raison d'être* of the said mission, whose promoters evidently look upon that kindly act as somewhat sacrosanct, for the report quoted refers to other work as "among the *strictly social* enterprises of this mission is a provident society."

The problem facing the incumbents of the City churches is a remarkable one. These churches lie thick and close together, yet, for the most part, stand empty, largely through the desertion of the City for residential purposes. The City has become merely a huge warehouse and office. Some rectors have solved the difficulty after a fashion, but the novel use they have begun to make of their churches, though utilitarian and philanthropic, can hardly be called religious. Thus St. Katherine Coleman is "opened every morning (6.30-8.45) as a place of refuge for the women and girls, who, to secure a cheaper railway fare, come into town some hours before the time their work begins. They thus have seat and shelter, and at 7.50 a special service is held. Thus, when least to be expected, a beautiful use is found for this ugly and forsaken church."‡ A similar use is found for the Church of All Hallows on the Wall; that is, it "is opened as a refuge for girls arriving by the early morning trains, and was one of the first to be so utilised. A service was held; but, before or after, sewing might be done, and books of a general character were provided."§ Mr. Booth and many of those with whom he has conferred, are fully alive to this aspect of the question, namely, that philanthropy, not religion, seems to be becoming the aim, mainly of "the churches," and even of some amongst the clergy of the Established Church. Thus, the admission is made that "thrift organisations are the most successful parts of the work done by the religious bodies, but most of the saving is for immediate rather than remote objects: for boots, for

\* VII., 192.

† II., 73.

‡ III., 29.

§ III., 33.

summer holidays, or Christmas fare, rather than for emergencies";\* so that what might have been based on the cultivation of a virtue is founded on a lower standard, and is thus less likely to effect permanent good. Moreover, what response is obtained to this propaganda comes mainly from children and young people, "while work among adults, as usual, is apt to be successful *only in so far as it is not undertaken upon definite religious lines.*"†

Taking a broad survey of these various agencies in so far as they represent efforts to aid the poor, it cannot be gainsaid that the main attitude of the volumes here being discussed is one of condemnation for the irregularities which must, almost of necessity, accompany such forms of charity as are here complained of. Out of many passages that might be cited, let the following suffice. The Gray's Yard Mission in Marylebone "attempts to influence and certainly does attract the poorest," writes Mr. Booth; it has an organisation "giving it the new name of a 'Ragged Church.' Here hundreds attend every Sunday afternoon. They enjoy the bread and tea provided (the more professional casual bringing his own accessories of bacon or butter, bloater or saveloy), but of those who come, few pay more than scant attention to the message of salvation for which this meal opens the way." Although the members of the mission seem to cherish faith in its ultimate success, Mr. Booth says "it cannot be denied that to those who do not share that faith the operations of the Ragged Church may appear actually harmful."‡ "For wholesale distribution of charity—gifts of food, coals and clothing, 'tickets' (which become almost a currency) for all manner of supplies; cash occasionally, as when tools have been pawned; 'maternity bags'; and 'hospital letters,' without count—none can compete with the great begging and spending missions. Nor would many wish to do so. The system is denounced on all hands even by those whose own giving is admitted to be 'only limited by lack of means.' Yet it may be less mischievous for gifts thus to fall like the rain from heaven on the just and the unjust, than for their distribution to be

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\* I., 202.

† VI., 28, *italics mine.*

‡ III., 101-2.

determined by religious sentiment played upon by canting hypocrisy, or by a soft heart melting at some false tale of woe."\* Some clergy, while employing these methods, either hope to lead to better things through their agency or deplore the necessity that compels them to have recourse to a system which they cannot but condemn. Put into plain English, it means that the pressure of the competition mutually exercised between the various bodies is going a long way towards the destruction of their moral sense. In a North of London parish "there is a 'slate club' with a thousand members; and although the direct result of such work, from a religious point of view, is admittedly small, it is claimed that by agencies of this kind prejudice against religion is gradually broken down."† It is said of the clergy of a church in Paddington that they "are devoted to their work, and the people, they say, are full of gratitude, respect, and love; 'there is no unwillingness to come to church'—only they do not come. Working-men's clubs, too, are of little use—they lead to nothing; but the thrift organisations, sick club, goose club, and such like, go well. In these ways the Church makes itself felt, and also through its schools."‡ The motive power, then, of these agencies cannot be the direct hope of results, which are small or negligible, but the fear lest the members should be snapped up by competing agencies in the management of rival churches. One rector referred to, "has numerous agencies in operation, but is inclined to apologise for rather than boast of their number. 'We all do it,' he says. None the less does he regret the absorption of so much of the time of the clergy in 'running things,' and he describes the way in which he has to superintend entertainments, umpire at cricket matches, and so forth, thus using up time which ought to be given to spiritual work."§ Even a minister of a South London Baptist Church freely recognises of this social work that "the direct religious influence is small, but it is claimed, nevertheless, that the civilising influence is great. 'Many men who came there rough and uncivilised, are now walking about London steady and

\* VII., 285-6.

† I., 173.

‡ III., 123.

§ IV., 63.

respectable men, although they may never enter a church ; just as you may often make a man a teetotaler without leading him to higher things.' And it is recognised that there is danger in the admixture of social and religious work, 'cheapening religion,' and 'lowering instead of raising the spiritual taste.' Missions which appeal on the one hand to the pockets of the rich, and on the other to the stomachs of the poor, are very apt to be victimised by cadgers, who, the minister of this church recognises, 'are the greater frauds the more religion they profess.' Apart from such as these, the crowds attracted are to a great extent the 'weaker members from other chapels, who want excitement.' These are weighty opinions, and we hear from many that the struggle of competing sects is over the hopeful, not the difficult cases."\*

The Catholic view concerning all this work has never varied ; but it is interesting to note Mr. Booth ranging himself on the same side, and expressing the opinion common to him and to us in words which, applied primarily to the Nonconformist churches in Hackney, hold equally good of all, which "seek by the establishment of mission-halls to do their duty to their poorer neighbours, and claim some measure of success ; but in every case the success attained is philanthropic and eleemosynary rather than religious ; and, except for the Sunday schools, the benefit to the people is doubtful."† A partial explanation of this attitude may be discovered in the mixture of ideas discernible in the words of a congregational minister, quoted by Mr. Booth. They are frankly materialistic. "Religious feelings," he is represented as saying, "are changing with the times and the people. There is greater diffusion of the Spirit, but less intensity. Those who know of religion are more numerous, and there is greater humanity in consequence ; more is done for sickness, for good housing, and for drainage. It is not done openly for the Lord, but it is because of the diffusion of the Lord's spirit that it is done. But there is not that sternness about religious observance that there used to be. 'Persecution

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\* IV., 79-80.

† I., 94.

is what we want to give us life.' They won't even prosecute for church rates. [This, by the way, throws a strong light on the vehemence with which Nonconformist ministers support and urge on the Passive Resistance movement; therein they see their chance.] . . . Our people don't go to church as they used to do, even in spite of the preacher and the service."\* A Wesleyan *confrère* gives expression to exactly similar views, showing that the growing conviction of "the churches" is that materialism and the fulfilling of social demands are the ultimate aim and object of man's life. Speaking of religious influences, he says that "the working man has been driven away by the manner in which Christianity has been presented. 'He is not anti-Christian or anti-religious, but anti-humbog. He appreciates goodness but abominates cant.' There has been, continues this out-spoken witness, 'too much of "Come to Jesus" and maudlin hymns.' And then he reaches the same conclusion as many others. 'It is necessary for churches to take a broader and more social view of responsibility,' and to have more sympathy with material and social wants."† Hence, though rescue work is undoubtedly deserving of unstinted praise and support, if its purpose be to reclaim the lapsed to God; yet much of what is done in London hardly fulfils this ideal; and the same may be said of work done amongst discharged prisoners: their value as religious agencies depends entirely on the underlying and vivifying motive. Settlements, polytechnics, admirable in their scope but within due limits, are frankly social, and may therefore be left out of our purview. We come, then, to this point, that, though much of the work that has been here passed in review is good after a fashion, yet that it fails in its ultimate object, or what should be its ultimate object, to lead souls to God, because it is not properly directed to what should be its only goal. *Magni passus sed extra viam*. The stamp of authority is wanting; and individual effort, however heroic, fails from lack of opportunity to lean on some stable and strong support in the background. Personal enthusiasm dies

\* V., 143.

† VII., 152.

with him whose action is sustained : the carrying on of a work initiated by another is a rare event, precisely for want of that personal element which perhaps first ensured success. Where we are naturally eager for the welfare of our own creation, that of another is apt to appeal with less force to our imagination unless that enthusiasm is supplied from some other source. Religion, or the service of God, can alone furnish this "something"; and that indefinable permeating spirit can be found in its perfection only within God's true Church. Support from any other source must be ephemeral or insecure, and though it may for a season produce results showing every appearance of strength, solidity, and permanence, such results are doomed to ultimate decay. Good work, frankly secular and philanthropic, like the maintenance of hospitals, relying as it does on secular charity, may possibly be put beyond the changes and chances of fortune, though even in this instance such is not our ordinary experience; but work nominally undertaken for God bears within itself the seeds of dissolution, unless resting on the authority of God's Church. It is this authority which secures unity of aim and unity of action. Mr. Booth can find such unity among Catholics alone, and is constrained to say of them that "all seem to have a common spirit, all to be working with a common aim; every institution the Church possesses comes into line, every resource is brought into play."\* This is so, precisely because the Church, the guardian of Charity, seeks, *non quae sua sunt*, but the common good, in, and for God alone.

The Catholic Church alone, as Mr. Booth practically admits, has shown that she *can* reach the lowest classes, but they must be made to hear. They can be made to hear only if they are sought out in their own haunts, their courts and alleys. They can be sought out only if the numbers of our workers be largely increased; but it must be from the ranks of those properly trained for the task. It requires something more than the tact and resourcefulness of a successful parish visitor, however gifted. That "something" is the authority which the most degraded and

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\* VII., 250.

abandoned will unconsciously acknowledge: the authority to speak, to chide, to teach, to urge; and it can reside in its fulness only in the clergy. The number of apostolic missionaries needs, therefore, to be multiplied. The parish clergy have almost more on their hands than they can manage to look after in their acknowledged flocks; and, therefore, as Mr. Booth points out, make "no attempt at proselytising. 'We have,' said one of the priests, 'more than enough to do in looking after our own people.'" \* The ordinary clergy need help, therefore; work done for them, under their direction, in hearty co-operation with them. That help could be sought amongst some of the religious orders. It should never be forgotten that the official clergy of the Church are her secular priests; the religious orders, in as far as they are admitted to share their apostolic labours, being primarily supplementary and *in adjutorium*. If these relative positions are frankly recognised, no jealousies or misunderstandings need be apprehended, were we to return to the ideals of the thirteenth century, divesting them of the difficulties created by the putting forward of pretensions unjustified by any historical basis or precedent. For instance, why should not the sons of St. Francis resume the rôle filled by their earliest predecessors, and, going out into the highways and bye-ways, preach in the courts and alleys of our great city and, by their simple but persuasive eloquence, chain the attention of the hordes who know not God, and "compel them to come in?" † The machinery is there; it only needs to be set in motion to ensure mighty results. The place is "white already to harvest," but the labourers are few. Are those who could so well help the few, to stand as it were idle, for want of hiring? "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." ‡ But how shall our ignorant pagan masses call upon Him of whom they have

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\* II., 41.

† This passage was written before it received remarkable corroboration from the writer of "Et Cætera" in the *Tablet*, April 1, 1905 (p. 502). My readers are earnestly referred to the passages there quoted from the pen of Mr. Francis Thompson, which in reality preceded mine, but were unknown to me before I saw them in the *Tablet*.

‡ Rom. x., 13.



never heard?" "And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach, unless they be sent?"\* Those whom it is desired to reach will not come either to our or to any other churches; they must, therefore, be sought out. Mr. Booth has recognised that none of the churches has reached the bulk of the lower classes. They give their message merely to those willing or pre-disposed to hear and accept it. Though the Catholic Church alone is equipped for the task by its gifts and its inherent mission, it is, nevertheless, handicapped in its operations by paucity of numbers. Those who could help most effectively are either doing work which, though good, is alien to their original purpose, or are not employed at all. The responsibility must be faced by all if we would not hear the cry of the spiritually destitute charging us with apathy in the Day of Judgement. If, then, there is to be any spiritual regeneration in London, any definite focussing of the religious influences at work in our midst, it can be only through, by, and in the Catholic Church; the rest have tried, and have been tried, but are found wanting. Does Mr. Booth say this? Not, certainly, in so many words; but virtually, yes. In order, therefore, to analyse his verdict on the Church it becomes necessary to consider a series of extracts and to gather the impression conveyed by them. This cumulative evidence there can be no gainsaying. Speaking of the priests and the difficulties they have to contend with, he says: "The care of these rough people, the management of the schools and the services of the church, fully occupy the time of the priests, and there is no thought of propaganda in their work. . . . But there is a never-ending struggle to prevent lapses among their own people. With them to 'lapse' is to be indifferent, slack, neglectful of religious duties. They rarely deny their own faith or attach themselves to some other, and when confronted by it they still accept the authority of the priest. The tendency to lapse is due to the spirit of the age . . . experienced very generally during the period between boyhood and

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\* Rom. x., 14-15.

manhood. . . . Clubs are tried in order to retain the lads, but without much success, and the best hope is to catch the young men again a few years later when they marry. . . . The Catholic standard, as to the performance of religious duty, is high; but even with them we hear in some quarters that among the poor 'one third do, another third can't, and the remaining third won't, attend Mass.'"<sup>\*</sup> But another point must not be forgotten: "As regards those who come to Mass, 'the charge of coming for what they get is palpably absurd among Catholics, who, even the poorest, are expected to give,'"<sup>†</sup> not to receive. "The particulars as to attention and non-attention to religious duties . . . though regarded as unsatisfactory by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, would not be so regarded by others . . . confirm the impressions yielded by my own observations. . . . By far the greatest effort is devoted to the Elementary Schools, in the main with success; the children being gathered in and their young minds instilled with the principles of their parent Church, to the end that these may be accepted not loosely, as a garment to be cast off at pleasure, but as a natural inheritance never entirely to be lost."<sup>‡</sup> "Catholicism in London may be regarded as a single force, and as such stands out as one of the greatest of the religious influences we are studying."<sup>§</sup> While quoting Mr. Booth in our favour, we should be doing our readers an injustice, as well as Mr. Booth himself, were his adverse criticisms to be passed over. But it will be perceived that these are based, not on any definite circumstances, but on an attitude of mind, on inherent though wholly unconscious or wilful bias and prejudice. "On the value of the religious influence exercised by the Roman Church on its adherents a word must be said. With regard to our Reformed churches most people are ready to assume that whatever influence they exert is certainly good. . . . But in the case of the Roman Catholic Church few hesitate to ask: Is the influence good or is it bad? It is right that these questions should be asked. If we do not always ask them,

<sup>\*</sup> VII., 244-5.<sup>†</sup> VII., 255.<sup>‡</sup> VII., 250-1.<sup>§</sup> VII., 251.

the difference in attitude undoubtedly indicates prejudice ; but narrowness of judgement will apply rather to the cases in which the benefits of religious influence are taken for granted than when they are questioned."

"In describing the characters of the other religious bodies . . . I have indicated in each case . . . what I conceive to be the 'fault of its quality.' With the Church of Rome the 'quality' is an extraordinary degree of adaptability, and the corresponding fault, super-subtlety ; the leading characteristic is strength of authority, and the inevitable result weakness of individuality. . . . With Catholicism, at any rate, and all the more because of the success that can be claimed, the question of underlying value arises. We are ready to doubt whether the price paid even by the individual soul for its religious endowment is not too high ; and when we go on to measure the influence of this great Church on thought and on education, on social or on political life, hesitation ends. We refuse the proffered blessing and rejoice to feel assured that the conversion of England to Roman Catholicism is a chimerical dream. It may be very unfair to lay stress on the possible injury to character in the case of this Church and not in others ; but the fact that most people in England habitually do so, regarding it, moreover, with jealous eyes as something foreign, only strengthens the impression that as a nation we are not likely to become Catholic."\* Thus does the English mind reassure itself against the possibility of being made Catholic in spite of itself and against its will. But the Church does not look for England's return to the fold "as a nation." That much desired and much prayed for event will not be effected by corporate re-union, but by individual submission ; and the patience and persistence begotten of the knowledge of the past will not be denied. Men now look for success to crown their own personal efforts ; they cannot apparently realise that the individual life counts for little or nothing ; that a lifetime's striving may show no tangible result and yet give valuable help towards ultimate achievement of a desired object.

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\* VII., 252-3.

The Church can afford to wait for the time ordained by God. Men come and go, but the Church is for all time, and the span of a life is of little moment. Those who work, not for themselves but for God's Church, can well be content to spend themselves in endeavours of which they neither will, nor expect to, see the fruit. The future alone will show this; therefore, the hopes for England's return to the fold are neither chimerical nor impossible of realisation. But it will be brought about, not by some sensational *coup*, but by steady preaching, by touching individual consciences. And this is the work that could be done by the Franciscans amongst the lowest orders; it is the very class of work for which they were originally intended. Mr. Booth notices that already the "levelling up" of all the Churches towards Catholicism is noticeable in greater ornateness of worship, in the use of music, in architecture. This means, perhaps, no more than the breaking down of old prejudices, but it opens the way for the entry of Catholic ideas, for a future willingness to hear what has to be said for Catholic claims. He says: "The ideas at least are there, and the words are used; as 'to enter the sanctuary,' 'our beautiful church,' 'a house worthy of God,' and so on."\* So, too, with the attitude during prayer and the plans for seating a congregation, our models are being copied. In dress, too, greater punctiliousness is shown by all clergy, do they call themselves priests, ministers or preachers. Ceremonial in all things is daily resorted to with greater insistence and by ever-expanding circles of imitators, be they in outward appearance near to or far from the Church. "The Church of England goes in more and more for ceremony; brightness and variety are also taught by the Nonconformists; everywhere increased attention is paid to music. And thus, worship being increasingly the object of church attendance, the Roman Catholic Church advances in influence."† "Thus a general drift towards some of the characteristics of Roman Catholicism must be conceded," says Mr. Booth, but at once corrects this admission by a reassuring quali-

\* VII., 257.

† VII., 256.

cation : "when we study the actual facts of conversion the evidence leans the other way. There is no popular movement in the direction of Rome. The British working-man, if he awakes at all from indifference, is hostile ; if moved at all spiritually, it is by the simplest Gospel teaching ; if intellectually, it is by the Unitarians ; but his active interests are much more commonly political and industrial than religious. Converts to Rome are nearly all from the middle or upper classes."\* Thus the field for Franciscan activity is once more indicated, and a priest put his finger on the explanation really accounting for the attitude of the mass of the population. He told Mr. Booth that "England is perhaps Christianised in her civilisation, but is not Christian. Philanthropy takes the place of religion with the clergy as well as with the laity. Catholics put their religion first. Therein lies their strength" ; † and, it may be added, their hope for the future.

A few examples taken from Mr. Booth's volume to illustrate his foregoing remarks, and our lengthy task is done. The difficulties that beset our clergy, and, notwithstanding, the influence they exercise comes out in his estimate of East-end Catholics. "The priests all refer to the difficulty experienced in retaining the young men. Girls' clubs are successful, but boys after school age cannot be controlled, and are apt to drift into indifference. . . . The poor Irish, who form the bulk of the Catholic population, are careless, but are naturally devout. They are rough-mannered, and fight among themselves, or with the police at times, and they drink a good deal. It is not possible to trace any persistent improvement, either moral or material, in their lives, and if a religion which does not secure improvement fails, then success cannot be claimed for these Churches. But, from day to day, these poor people are greatly helped by their connection with the Church ; restrained, controlled, and blessed in their rough lives by its care. . . . On the whole, among the various religious elements of this district, Roman Catholicism plays an important and satisfactory part." ‡

\* VII., 257-8.

† VII., 256.

‡ II., 39-41.

The description of the work carried out at the Italian Church, Hatton Garden, emphasises the spiritual aims of the Church as compared with the social aims of "the Churches," which have been referred to already at length. "A visitor to the church cannot but be struck by the free and frank admixture of class. Not only do the poor come, but rich and poor come together; distinctions of class are absent. There is no idea at all that a shawl over the head cannot hold its own with a bonnet, or even that rags are not respectable . . . the people are under the ever-present influence of their religion"; and remarking on the absence of social organisations, Mr. Booth says: "The priests do not consider it their business to provide them. They might, perhaps, regard such influences as leading away from rather than towards the ideal which they hold up. It is only for the young people—boys and girls above school age—that something of this kind is recognised as desirable by the Roman Catholic Church. . . . A good deal of charity is dispensed. The Sisters manage it. No doubt the recipients are expected to 'perform their religious duties,' but this involves neither bribery on the one hand nor hypocrisy on the other, for the duties are freely recognised, whether charity is received or not."\* It is in the East-end where, perhaps, the greatest indifference to the Church's laws is outwardly exhibited. And, by our standards, that indifference is alarming and deplorable. Yet, to one accustomed to judge by a laxer standard, a higher level of spirituality is ascribed to our people than we would admit to exist. Of SS. Mary and Michael, Commercial Road, Mr. Booth has noted that "10 o'clock Mass is the most crowded, and is attended by the poorest people. The priests complain of irregularity at Mass and of indifference to religious duties; but no one passing from Protestant churches to theirs would take that view. They have a higher standard. Moreover, the attendance is unmistakeably due to genuine religious feeling and a belief in the divine authority of the Church and its priesthood. Of support purchased by ordinary material benefits there is

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\* II., 144-5.

no trace.”\* A clergyman once called Mr. Booth’s attention to the fact that in his neighbourhood, on Sunday morning, “the whole place is asleep till ten or eleven, the only persons stirring being a few Catholics going to early Mass.”† Conviction, not compulsion, secures this end; for, what is related of St. Patrick’s, Wapping, holds good for all. “The church has no money to spend, being poor and heavily in debt for its schools. It has no visitors to work for it, but the priest knows all his people, and is able to visit them himself, living, as they do, within so small an area. Nothing is given. The contrast in this respect with St. Peter’s, their High Church neighbour, is great.”‡

The rest of the picture can be filled in by a series of “contrasts,” which, being furnished for different purposes, in portions of his volumes widely separated from each other, and not inter-connected, yet, unconsciously to himself, go far to answer him as regards the place the Church should occupy in the task of regenerating the masses. In Kensal New Town, though the evil of cadging is not absent, on the whole the picture affords grounds for hope. “Displaced by the Great Central Railway, a large number of poor Catholics have lately moved from Lisson Grove to these streets, and the priests and Sisters find it all they can do to manage their flock. . . . The priests perhaps reach, more or less, most of their own people, who are practically all Irish. Begging is chronic among them, and is satisfied by the ‘handing out of three-pences.’ The rest of the population are reported to be indifferent to any form of religion. Churches and missions are equally ignored.”§ In South London the same evils repeat themselves in an accentuated form, aggravated by the recourse of Catholics to Protestants for help. Mr. Booth, however, supplies the corrective to any extravagant hopes that might be founded on this circumstance. “North of the Park the care of the rough poor . . . falls largely to the Roman Catholics. . . . The attendance at Mass here went up greatly when the local church was opened, for the people had previously a full mile to walk. . . . The poor

\* II., 39.

† VII., 255.

‡ II., 39.

§ III., 141-2.



Catholics are great beggars, and when they have exhausted the funds available at their own church, they take whatever is offered by others; but if this assistance is given with proselytising aim, as in some cases it seems to be, the effect is *nil*. . . . Except under subsidy, other forms of religion make no headway here."\* South London is shown to be the poorest part of the metropolis. Mr. Booth reckons, on his carefully-prepared statistics, that the percentage of poverty there ranges from 47 to 60 per cent. of the population, as against 38 per cent. in East and North London.† This district, therefore, claims our special and most indulgent notice. In the Borough we learn that "amongst the humblest and roughest, if not the lowest, of the population . . . are a considerable number of Roman Catholics of Irish blood. . . . The claims of their religion and the authority of the priests are readily recognised by these people. They attend in considerable numbers the services of the Mass in their bare, but very striking church."‡ Of the neighbouring Bermondsey district he writes: "The Roman Catholic Church has three missions upon this river front; . . . all these churches are well filled, and the difference between them and almost any of the Protestant churches in this respect is very marked. The work done by these, or any of the Roman Catholic churches in poor districts, is always very much the same. The results vary a little with the neighbourhood or with the character of the flock, and to some extent with the personality of the priest; but not enough to make it necessary to do more than record the comparative success of the Roman Catholic Church in bringing and keeping those over whom it has any claim under the influences of religion."§ These "contrasts" may be heightened by the following passage, which brings out clearly once more what has been already stated, that, though begging may be laid to the door of some of our poor flocks, this is not the normal condition. Mr. Booth has pointed out that the basis of "the churches" is subsidising its poorer adherents; that of the Church is being supported by all its

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\* IV., 143.    † *First Series*, II., 31, *sqq.*    ‡ IV., 13.    § IV., 126-7.

members, within their several degrees and capacities. At East Greenwich "the Roman Catholics count only a thousand in their census . . . the people, though rough and sometimes drunken, do not sponge. . . . The attendance at Mass is fairly good, and the church actively organised. . . . This church pays its way, and supports its own schools. . . . Some charity is available for those who seem to need it; but the connection of the people with the church is based, not on receiving, but on giving."\* This willing support of the church, at great personal sacrifice—for it is the pence of the poor—is the result of the realisation of the truth that the Church is their own home, inasmuch as they are the children of one common Father; hence they are eager to deny themselves in order to provide that home for Him and for themselves; and they can take their time. Of the recently-opened church at Walworth, Mr. Booth wrote, while it was still incomplete, that it would be "a fine building when finished. It has taken seven years to reach its present stage, Roman Catholics being more ready to build gradually and more willing to wait, in order that the final result may be a House of God, worthy of the name."†

As to worship, the following extracts afford a contrast between the Church and "the churches." They were not, it would seem, printed together for the sake of comparison; but in the circumstances that comparison is inevitable, and the lesson is obvious. "The little Roman Catholic church is a long narrow barn of a building with a very humble entrance. The place was quite full for the 10.30 service of the Mass; the people all kneeling and perfectly still and quiet while the Host was raised. . . . The service ended with the Litany spoken by priest and people alternately; everyone knew and repeated the words. Of the strong religious feeling shown there can be no doubt. . . . In the evening the place was not so full . . . nor so quiet; but they were listening to a young priest whose discourse never really held their attention. It was a simple address on sin and death and judgement; the evils of life,

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\* V., 68-9.

† V., 209.

and what could be done to amend them.”\* At a Non-conformist mission chapel, Mr. Booth says he was struck that the minister “preached as to fellow-workers, and not as to those themselves in the present need of salvation. . . . As regards the children [of whom many were present] the sermon was hardly applicable at all, and as to the young persons, seemed apt to encourage spiritual conceit.”† The impressions afforded by a visit to a Baptist tabernacle are thus recorded: “The new pastor presided . . . and besides giving some of the prayers, interposed with remarks and reflections, acting just as a chairman. . . . Most of the prayers offered contained nothing but the most ordinary phraseology without merit as language, and so staled, one would think, by custom, that it is difficult to conceive of its having living meaning for anyone, and least of all for the man who uses it. . . . To the rule of banality there were two exceptions in which genuine spiritual force shone out, but these only made all the rest more unsatisfactory.”‡ At Dr. Barnardo’s Evangelical Mission the observation is made that “the people were listening to a Gospel salvation address of the most ordinary type. It is difficult to conceive what benefit any one of them could obtain from it; but perhaps the familiar language falls pleasantly on their ears, and no effort of thought is demanded.”§

Lastly, as the systems have been contrasted, so in the following passage are their exponents; and here it is interesting to note the phraseology employed to distinguish the grades as represented by the Catholics, the Protestants, and the Nonconformists. “The *clergy* and *ministers* have no authority that is recognised, but their professional character remains, and owing to it they perhaps lose influence. It is accounted their business to preach, they being paid to do it; and their manner, though accepted as a pose necessary to the part they play, is somewhat resented. No prestige covers them—‘they are no better than other men.’ In the case of the Roman Catholic *priesthood* alone do we find the desired combination of professionalism and

\* I., 233.

† I., 234.

‡ I., 235-6.

§ I., 237.

authority, safeguarded because accepted, and resting not on the individual but on the Church he serves ; *and where most nearly approached*, it is by the saintly lives of some of the High Church clergy. To live a life of voluntary poverty seems to be the only road to the confidence of the people in this matter."\*

The future, then, is, without doubt, in the hands of the Catholic priesthood. If the masses are ever to be reclaimed, it will, and can be, effectually done only by the Catholic Church. If the ancient Church of this land is to resume her sway over the hearts and consciences of the people, it must be by methods which will win their confidence, attract them, compel a hearing. The Good Shepherd *sought* the sheep that were lost. The Church does the same, but the methods have to be adapted to local conditions, and may have to be changed as local conditions alter. Though this may mean a departure from recognised and traditional ways, or a return to those of apostolic and primitive times, it will be resorted to whenever the need is realised and when the proper time arrives, but only by the high sanction and authority of the Holy See. Till then, it is enough to watch tendencies, keep in touch with popular feeling, and in God's good time the realisation of our hopes and aspirations will come.

The main interest of Mr. Booth's fascinating volumes has lain in the fact that he has only corroborated the impressions so many priests have gathered in the course of their experience. It is true that the opportunities of observation on the part of individuals may have been limited, whereas his have been almost limitless. But this very circumstance only serves to show that on the whole those observations have been fairly accurate ; and thus it is not unsafe to argue from the general to the particular.

A really heavy debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Charles Booth for his admirable survey of the conditions which surround and, in some cases, overpower the labours of all workers amongst the poor. That his conclusions have been arrived at on sound principles is illustrated in a re-

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\* VII., 428 ; *italics mine.*

markable way. Mr. Seebohm Rowntree undertook a similar inquiry, but only as regards the problem of poverty, in the provincial city of York. Though it was conducted, of course, on a smaller scale, nevertheless the general conclusions, when tabulated, coincided most closely with those deduced by Mr. Booth. A valuable and important work would be accomplished, could the qualified people be found, who would undertake to carry out similar inquiries in all our big centres of population, commerce, and industry, as Birmingham, Bristol, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Manchester.

HENRY NORBERT BIRT, O.S.B.

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## ART. V.—THE CONSCIENCE OF RATIONALISM.

THOSE who reject the positions of Theism are under a very obvious necessity of finding some authority to replace that of the Divine government which they are unable to accept. A position of pure philosophical negation is in the long run untenable; and the uniform experience of mankind witnesses to the impossibility of social life without the recognition of some moral authority anterior to, and of wider extent than that of the civil governor. The simple denial of the possibility of any knowledge beyond that which is supplied by direct consciousness would mean, if it stood alone, nothing less than a universal intellectual paralysis, and an interminable orgy of moral anarchy. We have therefore been assured that, under the pressure of necessity, we must base all our actions and all our reasoning upon "a great act of faith, which leads us to take the experience of the past as a safe guide in our dealings with the present and the future"—though there is nothing to justify such an act of faith beyond the necessity which is imposed by the intolerable consequences of its omission; and in the same spirit we are bidden to accept the authority of conscience as supreme in the moral sphere. Conscience under various titles is still to be recognised as the ultimate guide of individual and social life; and it is somewhat vaguely defined as the social or altruistic instinct, which has not less, but probably even more, reality and legitimate influence than the individual instinct of self-conservation. Thus our hope for the future lies in the cultivation of this social instinct—with or without the assistance of certain ethical societies, or an ethical church; and our reward for this not

very exhilarating devotion will be found in the contemplation of the possible benefits which our present self-denial may confer on a more or less remote posterity.

There is a curious resemblance in the course of the present Rationalist movement in this country to that already followed by Tractarianism. As in the one case the new ideas were originally promulgated amid academical surroundings, and appealed to an inner circle of cultivated intellects, but by degrees filtered into the minds of less intellectual but more active members of the Established Church, and so passed from theory to practice ; so in the other case the principles first put forward in a purely literary form by such eminent men as Huxley, Tyndall, Spencer and Mill are now in their turn being brought to the test of application to the practical needs of the people. And as in the one case, so in the other, the practical following out of theoretical principles leads to a certain modification of them. As the Tractarian *via media* inclined more and more to the Roman side, the more earnestly it was attempted to take action upon it—as more and more of the elements of Catholic belief had to be assimilated in order to make good the weaknesses which the practical test revealed, so the Rationalist theories, when brought down to the level of common everyday life, tend, as it would seem, more and more to resolve themselves into a cult of what is variously spoken of as Duty, Responsibility, the Ethical Principle, or the Social Instinct, and differs little, if at all, from Conscience as known in Catholic theology.

But all roads lead to Rome ; and there can be little doubt as to where both movements must eventually be landed by the tendency of that necessary modicum of truth which underlies their peculiar tenets, and from which alone is derived such vitality as they can claim to possess. In the meantime, there appears to be already a Ritualistic party, together with the usual party of opposition, among Agnostics ; a form of *disciplina arcani* may already be perceived in the economy practised by some in declining to communicate “the whole gospel of Rationalism” to the unprepared : and there seems already to have arisen some controversy among the faithful as to whether a Rationalist



does or does not become guilty of the sin of schism by attending Christian worship.

But apart from such trivialities as these, it may very well be seriously enquired how far the object of Rationalistic devotion is able to bear the weight which must necessarily be imposed on it by the withdrawal of the support afforded it hitherto by Theism. Can conscience be legitimately accepted as the guide of life, while the existence of God, as its ultimate authority, is denied?

If it can, then, no doubt, the Agnostic or Rationalist position may be considered to be practically possible; but if not, then it must be held to be no less manifestly a *reductio ad absurdum* in the moral sphere than it has been already admitted to be in the intellectual. That any considerable body of men should ever give practical effect to a system which would eventuate in the entire subversion of morals is incredible, for a reason which will presently appear; though it will hardly be denied that the more virile and full-blooded of those who are affected by the Rationalist propaganda tend rather in this direction than in that which is indicated by its apostles.

Conscience (or synderesis, the general moral faculty, of which conscience is the particular application) is defined by St. Thomas as a function of the practical intellect distinguishing between good and bad actions, or right and wrong in general. But in this distinction something more is implied than the mere classification of actions according to their moral quality; there is in the verdict of conscience a certain authority, by which it is asserted that certain actions ought, and certain others ought not, to be done or to have been done. In this function conscience (or synderesis) includes the sense of duty, which it applies as a moral test to our past or possible future acts.

Now the problem we have to solve is the explanation of this sense of duty. Of what does it consist, and how has it come into being?

If we admit that the existence of God is a fact, and that it becomes known to us by a primitive and necessary inference from our earliest sensible experiences, the solution is very simple and straightforward. Since we know God

to be a person, all-knowing, all-powerful, all-good, and all-just, we infallibly infer from that knowledge that we are bound, as His creatures, to do His will ; and that this will is known to us in so far as we are able to distinguish good from evil, since it must necessarily be for good, and against evil ; we further infer that, being what He is, God must necessarily reward us for doing the good that pleases Him, and punish us for displeasing Him by evil-doing.

Here, then, is our sense of duty, full and complete, arising directly out of the knowledge of God's existence and practically inseparable from it. Nor can it be denied that, in point of fact, this is what the sense of duty has meant hitherto for all but an insignificant minority of the human race. Whether this is the true account or not is of course another question. But it is obvious that when once the idea of God is eliminated, the sense of duty has, on this view, lost its foundation. Duty is what is due to somebody ; but there is nobody towards whom there can be an absolute duty, except to God. There may, of course, be relative or conditional duty owed to my neighbours or to myself ; but this obviously depends, in the one case, on the power of my neighbours to exact what is due to them, and in the other, on my own desires or preferences. When I say that it is my duty to my neighbour to be honest and truthful or to myself to be sober and cleanly, I can mean nothing else than that if I fail in these respects I shall suffer for it. But if in any particular instance I perceive an opportunity of injuring my neighbour to my own advantage, and without incurring any penalty, or of allowing my baser impulses free play without any counterbalancing retribution (and it is beyond question that such instances do occur) then to speak of duty is, under the condition supposed, absolutely unmeaning. If I say that I must consider my neighbour's interest as well as my own, or that I must maintain a certain harmony and dignity in my own nature because these things are in harmony with the law of God, which is, in a certain sense, the expression of the Divine nature, and which God requires me to observe ; then I give to the idea of duty a certain definite meaning, but in no other way can I do so. There is, that is to say, implied in

the ideas of right and wrong, an absolute obligation, *semper* and *pro semper*, of doing right and refusing to do wrong; and it is this implied obligation that gives these ideas their ordinary connotation, and that gives also the authority which belongs to the dictates of conscience in pronouncing on the moral quality of any particular action.

But it is undeniable that the sense of duty, and the activity of conscience do, in point of fact, persist, even in those cases where the idea of God is absent, and even where His existence is explicitly denied; and it is upon this fact that the Rationalist cultus takes its stand.

It is frequently maintained that conscience is itself an evidence of the existence of God; that it in fact assures us of His existence by pointing to Him as the lawgiver and judge to whom we are responsible for our actions, so that in the absence of all other evidence we might be convinced of God's existence by the necessity which we find in ourselves of contemplating the moral law as an ultimate fact, and the Divine lawgiver as directly revealed through it. But on the other hand we are met by the assurance that there are minds which contemplate the moral law with reverence and submission, and yet see in it no revelation of God, and recognise no responsibility to Him; and there appears to be no reason for refusing credence to these assertions.

To what source, then, does the Rationalist ascribe the source of duty on which he so strongly insists, and on what does he rest the authority which he invests it with? Professor Haeckel provides us with a categorical answer to this question. "Modern science," he says "in demolishing the Kantian dualism, renders the positive service to practical philosophy of substituting for it the new structure of ethical monism. It shows that the feeling of duty does not rest on an illusory 'categorical imperative' but on the solid ground of social instinct, as we find in the case of all social animals. Man belongs to the social vertebrates, and has, therefore, like all social animals, two sets of duties—firstly to himself, and secondly to the society to which he belongs. The former are the behests of self-love

or egoism, the latter of love for one's fellows or altruism. The two sets of precepts are equally just, equally natural and equally indispensable. If a man desire to have the advantage of living in an organised community, he has to consult not only his own fortune, but also that of the Society, or of the neighbours who form the Society."

Now can this explanation of the source of duty be accepted, I do not say as a true one, but even as adequate? It really does not so much as touch the question in hand. What it amounts to is a theory of social contract closely resembling that of Rousseau. Man, that is, perceives by virtue of his social instinct (by which is to be understood what Professor Haeckel calls a secondary instinct, which with him is identical with reason) that the advantages of social organization are only to be enjoyed in virtue of a system of give and take among members of the organised society: each expects the rest to sacrifice their interests to his to a certain extent, and must therefore be prepared to sacrifice, to the same extent, his interests to theirs. But this is not a perception of duty, but of expediency; which is a totally different thing. Supposing that any one of the social vertebrates belonging to such an organisation feels such a strong inclination as is not unfrequently experienced by them, to prefer his private advantage to the general welfare, whether with the expectation of avoiding discovery or with the intention of relinquishing some of the social advantages he enjoys, there is absolutely no consideration involved in this conception of duty which can tend to prevent his doing so: in other words, the sense of duty does not exist.

Again, there is no doubt that there exists such a feeling as altruism, or love of one's neighbour, and that it is the duty of all men to cultivate it. But the attempt to deduce it from Professor Haeckel's "fundamental law of society—that the prosperity of society is a man's own prosperity, and that it cannot suffer without his own injury"—is surely futile in an absurd degree. Instances are happily abundant in which men gladly suffer death—that is, annihilation of their personal existence, according to Professor Haeckel—for the sake of country or family. But surely nothing could be more wildly inconceivable than that a man should

voluntarily pass entirely out of existence for the sake of society, on the ground that "its prosperity is his own prosperity." But possibly Professor Haeckel may consider that "*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*" is an axiom which exemplifies that undue exaltation of altruism above egoism which he supposes that the machinations of a greedy and selfish Catholicism have brought into general acceptance.

Once more, the social instinct is supposed to be evolved from such primitive elements as the maternal *στοργή* in animals and the mutual association of gregarious creatures of various kinds. But it is impossible to see how the knowledge of such a derivation can constitute an obligation for the individual. It would seem, on the contrary, that so to explain the sense of duty is to explain it away. If a man's natural altruistic tendencies cause him discomfort, as they generally do, he is not likely to be stimulated to compliance with them by reflecting that they are merely the inheritance he has received from his bestial ancestry. He would be more likely, one would think, to class them with the gout, which he may have inherited in much the same way, and to treat them accordingly.

Finally, what are we to think of an instinct which refuses to work, or of a law that is systematically ignored? But Professor Haeckel is candid enough to admit that this is the case with the social instinct, on which the feeling of duty depends, and the law of social obligation which it has to follow. "One cannot understand," he says, "how this fundamental law of society can be contradicted in theory or in practice; yet that is done to-day, and has been done for thousands of years." Possibly we may be told that law and instinct are still in process of evolution: but if that is so, they would seem to have hardly yet attained solidity enough to bear the weight of such a superstructure as the feeling of duty. It is also noteworthy that hitherto those persons in whom the feeling has been most operative and to all appearance fully evolved, have ascribed it to quite a different source from Professor Haeckel's.

I have not, however, undertaken the very superfluous task of criticising Professor Haeckel's ethical theories: I

have merely taken his account of the authority of conscience as being probably the accepted one among those who would represent it as being independent of theological considerations ; and enough has been said to show that his theory cannot be accepted as in any way sufficient. It remains to show how the authority of conscience may probably be able to assert itself when the idea of God, on which it ultimately depends, is ignored or rejected.

It is a fairly well recognised fact that a very large proportion of the operations in which our intellects are incessantly engaged are performed unconsciously. All, no doubt, are capable of being represented in the form of syllogisms ; and they are generally so represented when, in order to verify any proposition which may happen to need support, we rummage among the unconscious productions of our minds and bring to light the arguments by which the conclusion we are considering has been obtained. The arguments so brought to light may or may not turn out to have been valid. They are not necessarily either valid or invalid ; and the conclusion we wish to verify is accepted or rejected, according as they turn out to be the one or the other. For instance, we are always unconsciously calculating the time of day : there is perpetually at the back of our minds an argument, or comparison of impressions, which results in the notion that the time is so-and-so. If it so happens that I have to catch a train in the course of the day, a moment arises at which, without any process of conscious reasoning, I think it must be about time to start ; I then, but not till then, look at the clock to verify or correct my conclusion—which generally turns out to be surprisingly accurate, though, of course, it is not invariably so. It is thus quite certain that I have been all day unconsciously, by the comparison of a vast number of impressions and a highly complicated array of syllogisms, reckoning the lapse of time. The reasoning process has altogether vanished from memory, but the conclusion is there, just as it were below the surface of consciousness. It may happen, however, that my clock is entirely wrong : it goes, let us say, very much faster than the actual time, and when I look at it I am led to consider my unconscious

chronometry to have been wrong, whereas it was really approximately correct. My unconscious mental operations are, however, not sensibly influenced by the solitary comparison of their result with the clock, and I go on pursuing them according to the same system as before, until I consult the clock again, when a fresh readjustment takes place; and so on, till the clock is set right.

Now, the persistence of conscience in the mind of a person who rejects Theism precisely resembles in character the persistence of my unconscious chronography. I reject its results as often as I compare them with the verdict of my erroneous clock: the Rationalist in like manner rejects the conclusion of his spontaneous and unconscious reasoning as often as he compares it with the erroneous arguments by which he has elected to reject the evidences of God's existence. But he reverts unconsciously to those arguments, because he is unable to help doing so, as soon as he ceases to advert to his erroneous test. The Rationalist is conscious of a sense of duty, as I am conscious of a certain measurement of time: both are fairly correct. But he bases his sense of duty, fallaciously, on some considerations unconnected with Theism, as I base my correct measure of time, fallaciously, on my faulty clock. I say rightly that it takes me ten minutes to reach the railway station—whereas according to my clock, which goes too fast, it only takes nine and three-quarters; the Rationalist in like manner says rightly that it is his duty to be charitable to his neighbour—whereas his faulty principle says that it is only expedient that he should do so.

That is to say, putting the case in its proper terms, the arguments which demonstrate the existence of God, and the nature of our relation to him, are such that they must inevitably be, either consciously or unconsciously, always present to every normal human mind. They are among the first, if not the very first, of the inferences which we spontaneously draw from our sensible experience; they are probably more, certainly not less, necessary to our minds than that primitive and necessary inference by which we conclude that there is in Nature a certain uniformity—that what has happened under certain con-



ditions once will happen again as often as those conditions are present ; a belief which is far less capable of verification than that of the existence of God. Since then these arguments are necessary, spontaneous, and inevitable, the mind must, whether it will or not, either consciously or unconsciously, be perpetually applying them and drawing from them the inevitable conclusions—just as even though one were to deny the uniformity of nature as an abstract truth, one must go on practically acting as if it were true, as long as one lives in the world. It matters nothing whether the mind consents or refuses to formulate the conclusion that God exists as our Lawgiver and Judge: we cannot help acting on the belief that He does so exist. Consequently, it is impossible, do what we will, to get rid entirely of conscience and the authoritative sense of duty which it involves ; and if we attempt to found it upon any other basis than the true one, we must be landed in some theory which involves some such complicated fallacies as those which Professor Haeckel has offered us.

A little consideration will make it evident that this view of the matter is by no means mere theory, but is the natural conclusion to be drawn from facts.

In the first place, it is absolutely beyond question that mankind has universally, and so far as we know, from the beginning inferred the existence of God from its experience of phenomena, and has by a process so spontaneous as to be by some mistaken for intuition, attributed personality, intelligence, omnipotence, and moral goodness to the Supreme Being. It is equally beyond question that mankind has always found both the incentive and the sanction of moral conduct in its relations with God.

But if in such elementary matters as this the common sense of mankind could be entirely wrong, we could have no certainty of anything : there would be no foundation for even the most everyday and necessary kinds of knowledge, and man could never have emerged from his supposed state of "*mutum et turpe pecus*." Since, however, man can neither free himself from his elementary intuitions nor cease from his necessary processes of ratiocination, it follows that those conclusions at least

which are fundamental and of universal acceptance must be considered to be axiomatic ; and consequently God and the soul, and the conscience as expressing part of the relation between them, must be accepted as realities no less certain than the distinction between the ego and the non-ego, the fact of sensible perception or the uniformity of nature. But when certain persons profess to have discovered that there are fatal flaws in this necessary and fundamental reasoning, and while retaining the conclusion attempt to found it on fresh premises, they are attempting a feat something like the underpinning of a building whose foundation has collapsed—an operation which may be successfully performed upon a mechanical structure, but which is quite inapplicable to a living organism. You may graft a new bud upon an old stock, but you cannot change the old root of a flower for a new one. If the root is really changed the flower must die ; but if the blossom remains, it is quite certain that the old root is there too, hidden from sight, whatever may be pretended to the contrary.

It is not difficult, either, to see that this is actually the case—it is not merely certain *a priori* that the old root must be still there, but a very small amount of excavation will actually reveal it to sight. When Rationalists begin to deal with ethics, they revert immediately to the ideas upon which the Theistic conception of duty rests, investing them with only the thinnest possible disguise.

It is obviously impossible to form any idea of moral obligation without the idea of a standard on which conduct is to be modelled and by which it must be tested ; and that not merely in regard to detailed actions, but also in order to determine the general principle on which right conduct depends. The sense of duty, as we have seen, depends on the kind and degree of authority which the moral standard exhibits. Thus those who have supposed conscience to be an original moral sense would make that sense itself the judge of conduct, and its authority dependent on its Creator. Those who found the laws of conduct upon the judgement of the practical reason refer their authority to a higher power which gives the practical reason its validity, whether

it be the independent categorical imperative, or the will of God antecedently known as existing by the intellect. In the former case the standard is constituted by the dicta of the moral sense, whatever they may be: in the latter by the categorical imperative or by the will of God, whatever it commands; and the test of right or conscientious action, and the ideal which it should aim at, lies in its conformity with the commands of this final authority.

Now the final authority of the Rationalist conscience is identical with its standard of conduct. To judge that an action is good is to judge that it must be done. On Rationalistic principles this, as we have seen, is a *non sequitur*. I may see that an action is good; but there is nothing in those principles to make me perform it rather than a bad action which I naturally prefer. Nevertheless, the Rationalist evidently feels—though he refuses to say—that his standard of right conduct does refer him to some authority external to himself and his own inherited instincts. And the reason, it seems evident, is that he does practically embody in his moral standard the idea of an external authority, and cannot by any means help doing so. For a general standard of conduct, however it may be framed, must be in point of fact a universal idea, and this universal idea has a purely transcendental existence—whether as an idea only, or as corresponding with an objective reality; since it exists neither in the object nor in the subject, but is the resultant of that fusion of the two which takes place in the act of cognition. Of this nature is the Aristotelian standard of “*καλόν, ἢ αἰσχρόν τὸ μὴ*”—or again, the ideal wise man, “*ὡς ἂν ὁ φρόνιμος ὀρίσθαιεν*.”

Of the same nature are the ideas of “the true, the good, the beautiful” which are stated by Professor Haeckel to be the objects of the new monistic cultus. So is the “ideal of Duty” to which, according to another Rationalist writer, the devotion of the soul must go out, instead of to God. So, once more, is the verdict of an ideal posterity, on which is founded the moral standard of the Religion of Humanity.

Now these various universals embody in themselves the idea of an external authority: for they in fact constitute the idea of God. Unless they did so, they would obviously be the

mere phantoms of a dream, and as such unable to form an incentive or spring of action : and those who construct them are in reality, however unconsciously, in so doing following out the arguments which lead to a belief in God. The ideal good, the ideal wisdom, and the ideal of duty have no phenomenal existence ; they are concepts which must be either utterly unreal, mere fictions of the mind, or else find their realization in God. "The true, the good, the beautiful" have never been met with in this world, but only true, good and beautiful things—they have no more foundation in phenomenal experience than the ideal of duty or abstract humanity. Therefore, if Rationalists tell us that they follow as their moral guide something that has and can have no real existence—"a light that never was on sea or shore"—they are using words without meaning : but if they say that these ideas are in some sense real, then they can only be speaking of God, the *summum bonum*—the one necessary being, or reality, and the sum of all perfections. Rationalists may and do refuse to call their ideal by the name of God ; or may identify it with the unknowable potentialities of the transcendental conception called matter. But they are human nevertheless, and by their own avowal they bear witness to the fact that no human being can wholly cease to recognise conscience as being the "stern daughter of the voice of God." "*Cum cognovissent Deum non sicut Deum glorificaverunt.*"

In conclusion, it may be noticed that the consideration of the Rationalistic position in regard to conscience sets the nature of the evidence which conscience gives of the existence of God in a very clear light.

Conscience cannot rightly be said to reveal God to the mind : because it is obvious that under the conditions of our present life we can have no direct super-sensible knowledge of anything. All that we know, we know by way of intuition, or of inference ; and both of these require sensible perception as their necessary starting point. There is no necessity for any such hypothesis as that the sense of duty, being an inalienable and primitive endowment of the soul, actually includes the notion of a supreme lawgiver and judge : and in the absence of any such necessity the

maxim "*entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*" comes into play.

Conscience, therefore, cannot be, so to speak, an organ of direct transcendental revelation, since there is no reason to suppose it to be anything more than a mode or habit of the reason; and the reason cannot apprehend ideas which are not ultimately founded on sensible perception. Thus what conscience does, strictly speaking, bear witness to is not indeed the objective existence of God, but the idea of God existing in the mind. For, as we have seen, there is no other foundation to be discovered for the sense of duty or obligation which is an essential element of conscience (in the sense in which the word is generally used) but the idea of God. And as it appears that no normal human being is without a conscience, it follows that no one is without the idea of God. The name of course is not necessarily included in the idea, and the idea itself may fall very far short of even such a degree of fulness as is attainable by us; moreover the idea may lie very far in the background of consciousness. Nevertheless, it is a true idea, so far as it goes. But the manner in which it is obtained, and the reality to which it corresponds must be the subjects of a separate investigation. Conscience by itself can give us no information on these points.

A. B. SHARPE.

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ART. VI.—DICUIL: AN IRISH MONK IN  
THE NINTH CENTURY.

## I.

AT a time when the greater part of Europe was plunged in the deepest barbarism, science and literature flourished in Ireland. Since the introduction of Christianity that island, exempt from internal revolutions, had enjoyed a period of comparative peace, interrupted only from time to time by petty quarrels among the princes of the land and by the feeble incursions of the Northmen. From the middle of the sixth century, schools and colleges arose all over the country, some of which, such as those of Clonard and Armagh, attained to great celebrity, attracting students from all parts of the continent. In the time of Charlemagne, Irishmen contributed not a little to that temporary, though premature, revival of Latin learning, so soon to be checked by the invasions of the Northmen on the one hand and the Saracens on the other.\* To this period belongs Dicuil, the author of a short geographical treatise, *De Mensura Orbis Terrae*, composed, as he himself tells us, in the year 825 A.D., in Ireland. This precise date, unfortunately, does not help us much in identifying the author. The name Dicuil, Dicul, or Dichull, as Letronne† points out, is common to several Irish ecclesiastics and missionaries of whom some records have survived: (1) a disciple of St. Fursa, who flourished about 640-650, and wrote *Institutiones ad Monachos*;‡ (2) a hermit who died in 700, author of

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\* G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, London, 1886.

† *Recherches sur Dicuil*, etc., Paris, 1814, pp. 8-9.

‡ *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Bolland, Jan., ii., p. 40.

*Exhortations to the Western Saxons*;\* (3) an abbot of Bosenham (Sussex), mentioned by Bede, of doubtful date;† (4) an abbot of Cloyne, who died in 747; (5) an abbot of Innis Muredaich, in Connaught, who died in 871; (6) an abbot of Kilmor, who died in or about 889; (7) lastly, an abbot of Pahlacht, the date of whose death is unknown, whom Letronne supposes to be our author.‡

Of internal evidence for Dicuil's date, we have his statement (Dic., vii., 11, edit. Parthey, 1870), that thirty years back (795) he had received information from a monk about Thule and the islands to the north of Scotland; and in his account of the journey of Fidelis to the Nile (vi., 12-20), the mention of his master, Suibneus or Suibhne,§ who must be identified with the abbot of that name who died in 776. From this it follows that Dicuil must have been born about 755-760, and consequently was about 65 or 70 years old when he composed his work. His tract on grammar (mentioned in the Prologue of his work) is now apparently lost.

## II.

The work of Dicuil was published for the first time in 1807 by Charles Athanasius Walckenaer,|| from a manuscript in the (then) Imperial Library at Paris. It is remarkable that such scholars as Salmasius, Isaac Voss, Hardouin, and Schoepflin, who had actually read and copied the most interesting passages of the *De Mensura Orbis Terrae*, did not perceive how important the publication of the entire work would have been for the correction of the text of Pliny. In 1814 appeared an entirely new edition of Dicuil, with a corrected text and a

\* Dempster, *Hist. Eccles. Hibern*, No. 368, p. 203.

† *Acta Sanctorum*, April, iii., p. 305. Bede, *ap. Camden Britannia*, p. 197, ed. Angl. Dempster, No. 406, p. 222.

‡ For Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7, cf. Colgan, *Acta SS. Hibernia*, vols. i., p. 92; ii., p. 115.

§ Colgan, *loc. cit.*, i., p. 57; cf. also ii., p. 500. No less than twenty-four personages of the name Suibhne are enumerated as having lived between the years 654 and 1056.

|| *Dicuili liber de Mensura Orbis Terrae*, nunc primum in lucem, editus a Car. Ath. Walckenaer, Paris, 1807, 8°. This edition is now extremely rare.



very excellent commentary by A. Letronne.\* This edition, which is now rare (only 500 copies were printed), must still be considered as the most valuable that has yet appeared. The text, with various readings from a manuscript at Dresden, was re-published at Berlin in 1870 by Gustavus Parthey;† but this edition is without notes. The editor has given, perhaps, a more convenient numbering of the different sections than either of his predecessors. The manuscripts of Dicuil employed by the above editors are as follows:

- (1) At Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, 4806 (Lat.), of tenth century. Most valuable manuscript of Dicuil; employed by all the editors.
- (2) At Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Suppl. Lat. 671, of fifteenth century.
- (3) At Florence, *Laurentian Library*; examined by Targioni Tozzetti.‡
- (4) At Venice, *St. Mark's Library*, Classis X., cod. 88, of fifteenth century; examined by Morelli,§ and later by Joseph Müller.
- (5) At Dresden, *Regius D.* 182, of about A.D. 1000; employed by G. Parthey for his edition.

Several other manuscripts of Dicuil, of later date, are preserved at Oxford, Rome, Munich, Vienna, and Madrid, and perhaps elsewhere, none of which, however, have as yet been collated. The text as found in the above manuscripts is exceedingly corrupt, and the question naturally presents itself—whether the mistakes which disfigure it are due to the degeneration of Latin in the ninth century, the ignorance of Dicuil, or the carelessness of the later copyists. Walckenaer, and more recently Parthey, are evidently disposed to consider them as due to the ignorance of Dicuil or his age, and have therefore printed the text just as they found it, without any attempt at correction.

\* *Recherches géographiques et critiques sur le livre De Mensura Orbis Terrae*, composé par Dicuil; suivies du texte restitué par A. Letronne. 8° Paris, 1814.

† *Dicuili liber de Mensura Orbis Terrae*, a Gustavo Parthey, recognitus. 8° Berolini, 1870.

‡ *Relazioni d'alcuni viaggi*, etc., Firenze, 1768-79, vol. ix., p. 165-174.

§ *Bibliotheca*, S. Marci, Ven. manuscr. grace et Lat., 1802, p. 373 sq.

Letronne, on the other hand, putting the blame on the copyists, corrected his text, bringing forward several powerful arguments in support of his views:\* (1) in the eighth century the study of Latin grammar, and chiefly orthography, had been introduced into the monasteries; (2) the cultured state of the Irish schools and academies at that time, alluded to above; (3) Dicuil had made a special study of grammar, and had written a tract on it; (4) the mistakes and the barbarous spelling of the proper names are widely different in the different manuscripts. The last argument seems to fully justify Letronne's conclusion, and it is probable that any new editor will in great measure go back to his text.

### III.

We come now to an account of the geographical knowledge of Dicuil. In the first place, something must be said about the authorities from whom he borrowed his materials. It appears (Dic., Prologue i., ed. Parthey) that Dicuil, having procured a manuscript containing an account of the survey of the Roman Empire made by the Commissioners of Theodosius (*Missi Theodosii*), conceived the idea of extracting passages from Pliny, Solinus, Isidore of Seville, and Priscian, among which he intercalated the measurements of these *missi*, together with certain pieces of information derived from traveller-monks, which are now the most interesting records in his tract. The authenticity of this survey,† as also of the chorography of Augustus, quoted further on (Dic., i. 2, Parthey), is very doubtful; neither of these works is referred to by any other writer. On the other hand, the "cosmography‡ made in the consulship of Julius Cæsar and Mark Antony," which had lately come into the author's hands (Dic., vi., 20, 37), is an undoubted forgery, for no true record dating back to the first emperors would have made mention of the camp of Moses on the

\* Letronne, *Recherches*, etc., pp. 33-40.

† Parthey (*Praef.* p. 13) thinks this refers to the survey, probably undertaken by Theodosius the Great two years before his death (395). This must, however, remain an open question.

‡ Letronne (*Recherches*, etc., pp. 25, 31). Promised a second work on this "cosmography" and the "survey," which never appeared.

Red Sea, as here stated (vi. 20). Nearly thirty authors, both Greek and Latin, are named by Dicuil; among them, Herodotus, Thucydides, Pytheas of Marseilles, and Xenophon of Lampsacus, most of whom are quoted from Pliny or Solinus.\* It is remarkable that he shows no knowledge of Ptolemy or of any of his theories.

The tract of Dicuil falls into nine chapters. The first three are occupied with the three continents—Europe, Asia, and part of Africa. The fourth describes Egypt and Ethiopia. The fifth deals with the length and breadth of the known world. The last four treat of special subjects: of the five great rivers and other smaller ones, of certain islands, of the length and breadth of the Tyrrhene Sea, and of the six highest mountains.

The description of Europe, one of the three sections† into which Augustus in his “chorography,” for the first time, divided the world, is taken for the most part from Pliny. After giving us the measurements of the provinces from the Columns of Hercules‡ to Byzantium, he tells us that the “Sea of Pontus” (*mari Ponto*, where Letronne§ reads *mari Ionio*) forms the eastern boundary of Italy; that the “Aegeo-Tuscan” sea bounds Achaia on the south; and that the earliest name of Byzantium was Logos.

Passing in review Germany, “Gothia,” Scythia, and Greater Armenia, he mentions that Europe was bounded on the extreme east by the Seric Ocean, which might be taken to refer to the China Sea; yet Dicuil had no real knowledge of China, and further on he declares that India is the limit of Asia towards the rising sun.||

Asia, ¶ properly so called, he says, was divided by Agrippa into two parts, the one bounded on the east by Phrygia and Lycaonia, on the west by the Aegean Sea; the other enclosed between Armenia Minor on the east,

\* To Pliny there are 21 specified references; to Solinus, 36; to Isidore, 15. Several pieces of poetry are quoted, from the *Missi of Theodosius* (12 verses); from Priscian's Latin version of the *Periegesis of Dionysius*, and from Virgil's *Aeneid* (iii. 571-572; iv. 245-251).

† Europe, Asia, Africa (Dic., i. 1, etc., ed. Parthey).

‡ Heracleostelas.

§ Letronne, *Recherches*, etc., p. 69; Ponto, Ionto, Ionio, Parthey still reads Ponto.

|| Dic., ii. 8.

¶ Dic., ii. 3, etc.

Phrygia, Lycaonia, Pamphilia on the west, the Pontic Province on the north, and the "Pamphilic Sea" on the south.

It is worthy of notice that the Taurus range is made to stretch across the entire continent, bordering India on the north.\*

The next section† carries us to Africa, where we read of the lands of the Moors and Numidians, which extend to the Southern Ocean; of Ethiopia, with its forests of ebony, its lofty mountains burning with eternal fires, named by the Greeks Theonochema (the Chariot of the Gods); and further on of the coasts inhabited by Satyrs, and the sea dotted with islands, where the narrative breaks off abruptly.

Next follows an investigation of the length and breadth of the known world,‡ taken from Pliny§—a world "surrounded by the ocean, and, so to say, swimming in it (*oceano velut innatans*)"; and the result of this gives us 6,630 miles for the length and 3,348 for the breadth, numbers which differ entirely from those given by Pliny (8,578 and 5,462 miles respectively). This discrepancy has been very well explained by Letronne.¶ Dicuil, he says, saw in the manuscripts of Pliny the first number expressed in figures LXXXVLXXVIII.; instead of interpreting preting this as he ought to have done by *octuagies quinquies centena et septuaginta octo*, i.e., 85 times 100 (thousand paces), + 78 (thousand paces) = 8,578 (thousand paces, "miles"), he took it to mean *octuagies quinquies septuaginta octo*, i.e., 85 times 78 (miles), which gives exactly 6,630; in the same way for the other number.

Here follow the twelve verses of the Commissioners of Theodosius,¶ the authorship of which has been ascribed to Sedulius, who flourished about A.D. 410; and the "book of measurements," properly speaking, comes to an end.

In the next (sixth) chapter we have a description of the rivers of the world, and here Dicuil begins to rely more

\* Dic.. ii. 6, 7, 8.

† Dic., iii. 4.

‡ Dic., v.

§ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 242, 245.

¶ Letronne, *Recherches*, etc., pp. 81, 82, 83.

¶ These verses were inserted by Gerard Meerman in the *Anthologia vet. Lat. of Burman*, 1773, vol. ii., pp. 392-396; also in *Wernsdorf, Poetae Latini Minores*, 1780-1798, vol. v., p. 536.

and more upon the authority of Solinus. Beginning with the Nile, on the source of which, "not far from the Atlantic," the Punic Books (of Hanno?), and King Juba are quoted, he proceeds to discuss the disputed question of its connection with the Red Sea. Some authors stated that one branch of the great African river flowed into the Red Sea; others denied this, and Dicuil, in order to prove the correctness of the former view, introduces his account of the voyage of Fidelis to the Holy Land.\* This narrative, which he had heard Fidelis himself relate to his own master Suibhne,† is one of the most interesting passages of the whole book. Brother Fidelis,‡ he says, with a party of clergy and monks, was on his way from Ireland to worship in Jerusalem—another proof of the great activity of the Irish Church, which had already done so much to save Christianity on the Continent.

Sailing along the Nile for some time the astonished pilgrims gazed upon the Pyramids, or Seven Barns of Joseph,§ "according to the number of the years of plenty," four in one place, three in another, "like mountains, square at the base, round in the upper part, and tapering to a point at the summit."||

Fidelis, measuring the sides of one of these barns, found it four hundred feet, almost exactly as we reckon it to-day.¶

From this point, continuing their voyage along the Nile, they sailed on to the Red Sea. ("Deinceps intrantes—scil. laici et clerici—in naves in Nilo flumine, usque ad introitum maris Rubri navigaverunt"). We have here evidently a reference to the fresh-water canal from Memphis to Suez, opened by Necho (reigned B.C. 617-601), restored by Hadrian (c. 130 A.D.), and again by Amrou, general of the Caliph Omar in 640, to aid the Arabs in retaining Egypt.

\* Dic., vi. 12-20, Parthey; vi. 3, Letronne.

† Probably about A.D. 775, Letronne, *loc. cit.*, p. 23.

‡ Walckenaer reads here, "fidelis frater," a brother on whose account one can rely, which makes excellent sense; but Fidelis is a proper name, which occurs frequently in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

§ This singular denomination of the Pyramids is found for the first time in *Gregory of Tours* (c. 590 A.D.).

|| "In fine sublimitatis, quasi gracile acumen habent" (Dic., vi. 3, Letronne).

¶ Cf. Letronne, *loc. cit.*, pp. 90-119.

It was definitely closed up in 767\* by the Caliph Al Mansor in order to prevent the rebels of Mecca and Medina from receiving supplies.

Arriving at Suez, close to where Moses crossed with the Israelites, our traveller wished not only to enter the port but also to search for traces of Pharaoh's chariot wheels; but the sailors could not be detained by antiquarian researches, and, instead, hurried him down the western arm of the Red Sea, which is correctly described as about six miles in breadth, and as running up far into the north from the mainland.

The Euphrates, Tigris, Ganges, and Indus next occupy our attention, along with descriptions of marvels and monsters, mostly taken from Solinus and Pliny.† The "Cosmography" is cited as an authority for the lengths of the smaller rivers, and here we have some curious figuring.‡ Beside the 897 miles of the Meander, the 825 of the Eurotas, the 210 of the Dnieper (*Borysthenes*), and the 453 of the Ganges, contrast oddly. Of the other rivers, the Danube is reckoned at 933 miles, the Tigris at 895, the Rhine at 552, and the Jordan at 722.

In the seventh chapter, on certain islands, the largest in the whole book, Dicuil has collected several passages of great interest, notably in connection with the islands in the Northern Ocean. Of the legendary voyages of St. Brandan he knew nothing, but he has plenty to say of the islands to the north and west of Ireland and Britain. §

"Around our Ireland are many islands, some small, others smaller still; off the coasts of Britain there are many large ones, some small and some medium-sized, either to the south or west, but the great majority are to the north or north-west. In some I have lived, others I have visited, others again I have only seen, and many I know only by hearsay or by reading."

It is certainly true that, compared with their Irish

\* Fidelis must therefore have made his journey before this date. Letronne, *loc. cit.*, p. 24, puts it between 762 and 765.

† Dic., vi. 22-37 (Parthey).

‡ Dic., vi. 37-54.

§ Dic., vii. 6 (Parthey).

neighbours, the British islands made a far better show. Further on,\* he says :

"There are many other islands in the Northern Ocean, two days' and two nights' sail from the "northern islands" of Britain. A certain cleric, on whom I can rely,† told me how, having sailed for two days and one night, he landed in one of these islands, which are for the most part small, and separated from one another by narrow channels. They were inhabited by "Scottish" (*i.e.*, Irish) hermits about one hundred years ago (725); but just as they had lain waste from the commencement of the world, so now they are again desolated by the incursions of the Northmen. They are full of sheep and innumerable sea-birds of different kinds. I have not found these islands mentioned in the writings of any author."

These islands, which must be identified with the Färoes,‡ are, indeed, mentioned by no author prior to Dicuil.

The next passage, which I shall quote in full, is even more interesting. It proves that Iceland (*Ultima Thule*)§ was known to the Irish in 795, at least 65 years before the arrival of the Scandinavians, and even points to the existence of an Irish colony in that island at so remote a period:

"Thirty years ago," says Dicuil, "a party of monks, who had lived in that island from the Calends of February to the Calends of August, told me that not only at the summer solstice, but also for several days before and after it, the sun seemed merely to hide itself behind a hill, so that even during its short absence there was sufficient daylight to enable a man to do whatever he liked, even to pick lice out of his clothes (*pediculos de camisia abstrahere*). It is probable that if one was on the top of a high mountain, the sun would not be seen to set at all. Those who have written that this island is surrounded by ice have evidently lied, just as those who pretended that from the spring

\* Dic., vii. 14, 15.

† So reads Letronne (p. 132). "probus religiosus." Parthey, with most of the manuscripts, reads "presbyter religiosus."

‡ Cf. Letronne, pp. 133-136.

§ Dic., vii., 11-13. The Thule of Dicuil must not be confounded with that of Pliny and Solinus, which was probably Mainland, the largest of the Shetlands. Letronne, *loc. cit.*, pp. 129-146.



to the autumnal equinox the island enjoyed perpetual sunshine, and *vice versâ*, that it was deprived of light until the spring equinox of the following year; for the aforesaid monks, who sailed to the island in the middle of winter, were able to land there, and saw regularly day and night; but on going one day's sail to the north, they found the sea frozen."

There is little else to notice in this chapter except, perhaps, the description of Ceylon (*Taprobane*),\* where several verses of Priscian are quoted, and the mention of Charlemagne's elephant,† introduced to refute the statement of Solinus that no elephant could lie down. "For," says Dicuil, "the elephant, like the ox, certainly does lie down, as all the people in the Frankish kingdom could see in the time of the Emperor Charles." This alludes to the elephant‡ sent, along with other presents, by Haroun Al Raschid to the Court of his Christian ally about 801 A.D.

The eighth chapter treats of the length and breadth of the Tyrrhene Sea, according to the Commissioners of Theodosius, and gives us a curious account of the eruption of *Ætna*,§ taken, as usual, from Solinus.

Later on|| Dicuil's critical spirit is seen again in his refusal to believe the report of one Fabian, mentioned in Pliny,¶ that the deepest sea measured a mile and a half (fifteen stadia) to the bottom; for who was to believe that Fabian could have sounded all the depths of the ocean?

In the ninth chapter\*\* he again takes Solinus to task, this time for his description of Atlas, "with its snowy summit hidden above the clouds," for, says he, "if the summit of Atlas is always covered with snow, it cannot always surpass the clouds; and if it surpasses the clouds, it cannot always be covered with snow, for snow, hail, and rain do not rise from the clouds, but descend."

Unfortunately this critical spirit deserts him where it might have been more useful. He repeats all the state-

\* Dic., vii. 26-32.

† Dic., vii. 35.

‡ The chroniclers of the time have preserved us a history of this animal, which accompanied Charlemagne on several of his expeditions. It died in 810; cf. Letronne, *Recherches*, pp. 150-152.

§ Dic., viii. 6-9.

|| Dic., viii. 29.

¶ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 223.

\*\* Dic., ix. 6 (Parthey).

ments of Solinus and Isidore about the Phœnix,\* about the wolf-faced men of Scythia,† and about the width of the Straits of Gibraltar and Messina,‡ which he seems to fancy must be equal.

In the last chapter he gravely tells us that Pelion is two hundred and fifty miles high from base to summit, "measured by Dicæarchus, a very learned man."§

Lastly, in his table of the "Seven Things that follow in the Cosmography,"|| he repeats all the studious credulity of his models, Solinus, Isidore, and the rest. There were, he says, exactly 29 seas, 72 islands, 40 mountains, 65 provinces, 281 towns, 55 rivers, and 116 peoples.

Notwithstanding all this, "Dicuil is, for his age, a scientist of unusual merit,"¶ and a comparison of his work with the analogous compilations of Æthicus of Istria, Julius Honorius, the Anonymous Ravennese and Guido, cannot fail to turn out to the advantage of the Irish geographer.

MARIUS ESPOSITO.

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\* Dic., vii. 46, 47.

† Dic., vii. 52.

‡ Dic., viii. 18.

§ Dic., ix. 2. Dicæarchus really found 1,250 paces (about 6,000 feet); cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 65.

|| Dic., viii. 26-30.

¶ Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, p. 39. Brief accounts of Dicuil will be found in Beazley, *loc. cit.*, p. 317; and in Vivien de St. Martin, *Histoire de la Géographie*, Paris, 1873.

## ART. VII.—SOME POPISH TRAITORS.

For Loyalty is still the same  
 Whether it win or lose the game :  
 True as the Dial to the Sun  
 Altho' it be not shined upon.—HUDIBRAS.

**A**MONG the more intimately personal documents that illustrate Catholic life during the penal period is the diary of Thomas Tyldesley, of Church Street, Lancaster, and of a surname otherwise notable in Catholic annals. It covers a space of about three years, coming to an end in November, 1714, a few months before the death of its writer. Among ordinary notes of fox-hunts, cock-fights, social visits, tavern-bills, ship-launches, and the like ordinary incidents, we find such entries as "The priest did not pray for our Master," on an occasion when the diarist "went to prayers" at Bowers Hall, Nateby, some twelve miles from home. Two days later, however, on visiting the same place for the same purpose, he has the satisfaction of recording that the priest had not failed in what was evidently, in his eyes, an important duty. There is no question as to the meaning of "our Master." Thomas Tyldesley's ordinary place of worship was an old farmhouse at Bulk, about a couple of miles from Lancaster, and still—if a dozen years ago may be safely called "still" in these days when very few things stay still—bearing over its doorway the text "Redeeme thy sinnes by alms-deeds, and mercie towards the poore." Here, as in similar make-shifts for churches and chapels throughout the land, such priests as opportunity allowed celebrated or otherwise ministered at their peril: and, with respect to opportunity, the diarist loses none of noting, with grave displeasure, the "disloyalty" of any priest who omitted to pray for *his* King—King James, styled the Third.

Why Thomas Tyldesley, or any equally staunch Catholic of his time, should have been so equally staunch a Jacobite, is among the puzzles of history; and the more it is considered the more puzzling it becomes. The contemporary notion, that Catholic and Jacobite were convertible terms, would not assist the solution, even had it been true. In point of fact, it was not true—contemporary popular notions seldom are. But had it been wholly or even generally true, it would be merely the description of a state of things of which it would in no wise amount to an explanation. It is true that Catholic Jacobites were usually the children or grand-children of Catholic Cavaliers. This Tyldesley, for example, was a grandson of that active Royalist, Sir Thomas Tyldesley, who had fought for King Charles at the siege of Lancaster in 1643. But that only multiplies the difficulty by two generations more. Assuredly, from every political and social point of view, English Catholics owed the House of Stuart nothing of the loyalty that springs from gratitude. The Government plot, named Gunpowder Treason, of 1604, and the public lunacy chronicled as the Popish Plot of 1678-80, were but the most sensational episodes of some three generations of legalised persecution actively abetted by one father of his people or timidly countenanced by another; while the impolicy of King James II. had ruined, as it then seemed, every hope of the barest toleration for all time to come. It was not as if Catholics held, or as Catholics could hold, that doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings which, practically invented for James I., came, in the handling of Anglican theologians, to imply passive obedience to the sovereign, even in matters of conscience, with all the heretical consequences of that notorious doctrine. John Hampden was assuredly no theologian, at any rate of the high Anglican school. He must be regarded as representing the low-water mark of the doctrine when, in his speech on the impeachment of the Five Members, he says that: "*To resist the lawful power of the King; to raise insurrection against the King; to conspire against his sacred person, or anyways to rebel though commanding things against our consciences in exercising religion, or against the rights and privileges*

of the subject, is an absolute sign of the disaffected and traitorous subject." This was, in short, the creed of the Puritans concerning the matter, while of course that of the Church-and-King men went very much further, and substituted "resist" for "rebel." Yet a great number of the Church-and-King men did resist, and the Puritans, including Hampden himself, did rebel; it was the Catholics, who made no profession of rendering to Cæsar what is due to God, who stood by the Crown when it was in peril, well knowing that in case of success their services would be ignored, or rather that their position would probably be even worse than in case of failure. For to recognise Catholic service would be beyond what any seventeenth century government would so much as wish for the power of daring. Why so many persons who had suffered so much for a Cause that could in no sense be called their own should be represented by that punctilious Jacobite, Thomas Tyldesley of Lancaster, may have many partial answers that will occur to many minds, and help to make up the whole. But of one thing all minds may be quite sure: that the whole answer will never be worked out if we omit from among its factors a *habit*—a first rather than a second nature—of following into politics a conscience trained in matters of Faith; a political conscience that might not always be enlightened in the broad modern sense, but, if narrow, therefore the steadier and the more clear. Of course, the Catholics of our dark days had not as a party (if party they could be called) a monopoly of self-sacrifice. But while the best and bravest of another party could glorify the calculation of loss and gain:

"He either fears his fate too much,  
Or his deserts are small,  
That dares not put it to the touch  
To gain or lose it all"—

the Catholic Cavalier or Jacobite had, without question of desert small or great, to put all to the touch in the conscious certainty of a loss that never failed to be justified. Other parties played the game to win; his, to lose.

Though, taking England generally, Catholic and Jacobite

were by no means interchangeable terms, inasmuch as Jacobitism was much more accurately synonymous with high Anglicanism, non-juring or otherwise; and though, in the same general way, there could not be said to be a Catholic "party," when every recognised partisan had to be a Protestant Whig or a Protestant Tory; none the less there were two English districts where to be a Catholic was to be a Jacobite, though not *vice versa*, and where the combination was frequent and numerous enough for local recognition. It need hardly be said that these were Northumberland and Lancashire. The Sessions records of the former county show the diligence of the government, both before and after the rising of 1715, in obtaining complete lists of all Catholics therein, as presumably disaffected, through the urgency of the High Constables. Mr. D. D. Dixon, of Rothbury, has given the lists for Upper Coquetdale in a number of *Archæologia Æliana*, 1893. In that remote and sparsely inhabited district, no fewer than seventy householders were officially reported and registered as Papists during the spring and summer of 1715. They were apparently of the yeoman class, save such of the gentry as were distinguished by the prefix of "Mr" to their names in the register: men whose faith was that of forefathers who had taken part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and had assuredly given no countenance to that doctrine of passive obedience even in matters of conscience which characterised most Protestant belief in the divine right of kings. There was no earthly reason why they should be Jacobites. It could be nothing to them whether the persecutors of their faith were named Stuart or Guelph, called Whig or Tory. Yet all were included in the list of suspects; and with so much justice that sixteen out of the seventy, to say nothing of sons or servants, were subsequently reported to Quarter Sessions as having been "out" or otherwise actively implicated in the 'Fifteen: all from a district that cannot contain more than some fifteen hundred souls. Nor was it as if, like Highland clansmen or south-country peasants, they were blindly following chiefs or landlords. The statesman or yeoman of the northern shires is not built that way. The theory that

their action was dictated by a sense of Right and Justice, strong enough to accept ruin for its sake, must perforce, in some large measure, stand.

Of the persons whom the High Constables, *dignitatis causa*, entitled "Mr.," the most notable was George Collingwood, of Eslington, described by Patten in his *History of the Rebellion of 1715* (the Rev. Robert Patten, an Anglican clergyman, was "out" in it himself, and saved his life by giving evidence for the Crown) as "a Papist of a valuable estate. . . . He was a very pious gentleman, and well beloved in his country." He was conspicuously among those who had all to lose and nothing to gain, and did in fact lose all he could, for, being among the prisoners of Preston, he was tried and hanged at Liverpool, February 25, 1716. He seems to have lingered long in popular memory, bearing out Patten's testimony to his neighbours' affection. Mr. Dixon refers to a tradition which might be turned into a pathetic ballad—how, when on his way to the Jacobite army, he turned round at Thrunton End Crag for a last view of his home, with his heart full of the certainty that he should never sleep again in Eslington Hall. To quote further—"Lady Cowper tells us how"—that is to say, in her diary, 1714-20,—"there were 'sad pleadings.' 'Mrs. Collingwood wrote to a friend in town to try to get her husband's life granted to her. The friend's answer was as follows:—"I think you are mad when you talk of saving your husband's life. Don't you know you will have five hundred pound's a year jointure if he's hanged, and that you won't have a groat if he's saved? Consider, and let me have your answer, for I shall do nothing in it till then.'"" No answer came in time; so presumably Mrs. Collingwood prudently took her friend's advice and her five hundred a year. She was a daughter of Lord Montague, and is credited with having strongly urged her husband on the road that ended at Liverpool. There is a story that one of the Northumbrian prisoners, James Robson by name, tried to deaden the pangs of hunger in Preston gaol by composing—of all things—a poetical "Satyr upon Women," and singing it aloud at an iron-barred window, so that all who passed might hear.



A Jacobite poet must have had some very special inspiration for so queer a prelude to the gallows. So perhaps, if the truth were known, it was neither Mrs. George Collingwood nor the more illustrious Countess of Derwentwater who is responsible for the Northumbrian legend of hesitating husbands urged into the field by over-zealous wives. With all allowance for exceptional cases, such as we must surmise Mr. James Robson's to have been, there was certainly not much to choose between masculine and feminine zeal for the White Rose. The general sentiment was pathetically expressed in the speech at the gallows-foot of a victim of the 'Forty-five, who thanked God for a wife and daughter who had "not grudged" him to the cause for which he was proud to die. The same, and something more, was surely felt by the husband of that noble Catholic Welshwoman, the Lady Winifred Herbert, who, as Countess of Nithsdale, is even more famous for devoted wifehood than for her loyalty to her husband's and her father's cause.

Mary, Countess Cowper, who records the anecdote of Mrs. Collingwood's jointure, was born a Clavering of Chopwell in Durham—a younger branch of the Claverings of Callalee in Northumberland: and William Clavering of Callalee, the head of that ancient Catholic house, went "out" at seventy years old, in company with his brother John. To quote yet again from the same source: "This week," writes Lady Cowper, "the prisoners were brought to town from Preston. They came in with their arms tied, and their horses, whose bridles were taken off, led each by a soldier. The mob insulted them terribly. The chief of my father's house was among them." That the Claverings saved life and lands was doubtless owing to their kinship with the wife of the Lord Chancellor, who, moreover, presided as Lord High Steward at the trials of the peers implicated in the rising. But such cousinship could scarcely have been in the mind of a septuagenarian county gentleman, who could have had no motive for his action but the simple inability to compromise between what he thought right and what he thought wrong. Nor can aught else be said of "Mr." John Hunter, of High Houses,

a wealthy Catholic yeoman (the High Constable's "Mr." vouches for wealth and respectability), who was also taken in arms at Preston. According to Patten, he succeeded in making his escape from custody; but a probably more correct list of the victims of 1716 includes him among those who were found guilty of high treason and hanged. At any rate the official charged with a search for concealed Rebels some two years later failed to find John Hunter either at High Houses or elsewhere: so we may take it that if not a hanged he was thenceforth a homeless man. It may be hoped that now, as then, rich farmers (if any such folk still there be) would ride out, as John Hunter and his like rode out, to face death and ruin for any cause that might seem to them the cause of justice without a thought of justice for themselves. But the hope is not violently strong.

Visitations of Catholic houses, previously to the rising of 1715, were not confined to Northumberland; nor, it must be owned, altogether without reason. How Danby Hall, in Wensleydale, still the seat of the Scrope family, fared under this inconvenience is thus recorded, as a family tradition, in a manuscript note dated 1830:—

"1715. *Jacobus filius Simoni Scroop de Danby, Yare baptizatus fuit.*

"This Simon Scroope (died 1723) of Danby secretly favoured the attempt made by the Stuarts in 1715, and his house at Danby was strictly searched by a party of soldiers at the time his lady was confined of her youngest son, James. The soldiers attempted to force themselves into her apartment; upon which the cook, arming herself with a spit, stationed herself at the door and swore she would stick the first soldier who attempted to pass her. The resolution of this woman so affected the military that they desisted from their purpose"—

Of which the successful execution would have been considerably worse than inconvenient, inasmuch as another note of family history narrates how, some couple of generations later—

"A priest of antiquarian tastes remarked that in the centre block of chimneys there were four outlets, and only three fire-places connected with them. This excited his curiosity, and, on letting down a weight, it was discovered that the outlet without

a fireplace communicated with a chamber that was previously unknown. On making the discovery, a portion of the flooring was removed, and a chamber some ten feet long by six feet broad and some six feet in height was discovered between the main chimney of the house and the exterior west wall. In it were found arms and saddlery for a troop of cavalry numbering twenty men. . . . The saddlery and swords were probably put in the hiding-hole at the time of the rebellion in 1715, as we know that Simon Scrope of the day secretly favoured the attempt."

The Catholics of Lancashire were less well represented at the block and on the gallows in 1715-16 than those of Northumberland; but that was less their fault than their better fortune. A jury was ignominiously discharged for its eccentric acquittal of Edward Tyldesley, the son of the diarist with whom these notes began, though there was ample evidence that he marched in the Jacobite army at the head of a "Tyldesley troop" with drawn sword, dined with his brother officers at Preston, and joined with them in drinking to "King James the Third." The main defence, that he was an inoffensive gentleman, not given to speak against King George, was obviously consistent with any amount of treasonable intent while the sword remained concealed in its scabbard, and not in the least inconsistent with overt rebellion when the time was thought to have come for throwing the scabbard away. Not a bad receipt for a good plotter would be a person who can keep quiet and hold his tongue. A trial that excited much greater interest was that of Mr. John Dalton, of Thurnham Hall. Thurnham Hall, five miles south of Lancaster, had been one of Thomas Tyldesley's resorts for "prayers" where he had never found occasion to complain of lack of prayer for "our Master." John Dalton was a great personage—eminently one whom no worldly wisdom would dream of associating with a desperate or even a doubtful cause. The Daltons owned, besides Thurnham, the whole township of Bulk, Aldcliffe Hall with its lands, lands in Lancaster—in short all, or nearly all, that had belonged to Cockersand Abbey in the old times. The Daltons, however, had kept the Faith, though they had built their fortunes on its temporal ruins; and they were among the

most typical illustrations of the succession of Catholic and Jacobite to Catholic and Cavalier—that ostensibly unreasonable union which these pages are an attempt to follow and in some measure to explain. In 1642, the then Dalton of Thurnham brought a troop of horse, raised and equipped at his own cost, to the Service of King Charles, wherein he fell at the second battle of Newbury. His estates at Aldcliffe passed to his daughters, the Hall there, where they lived into old age, acquiring the popular name of “The Catholic Virgins,” from the inscription on a stone set up by themselves—“Catholic virgins are we who scorn to change with the times.” One cannot help thinking of the Miss Arthurets of Fairladies and *Redgauntlet*; not impossibly Scott was thinking of the Miss Daltons. At any rate “The Catholic Virgins” was, during their tenure, a hospitable refuge for priests or other persons in peril from the penal laws. Whether it occasionally provided a retreat for Jacobites in trouble, or how far the maiden sisters meddled personally with the plots of their period, there is naturally nothing to show; still less is there to show how it came to pass that while constables and captains were busy in searching and reporting Catholic households, from mansions like Danby Hall to the cottages of Coquetdale, such a notorious den of Jacobite Papists as Aldcliffe was apparently left alone. It may be safely enough surmised, however, that it was not left to the police of our own time to discover the method of trapping by putting just one covert under the delusion that it is unsuspected and therefore unobserved. John Dalton of Thurnham, the owner of the family estates in 1715, was the great-grandson of the Thomas Dalton who had fallen at Newbury, and therefore great-nephew of the ladies at Aldcliffe. He was the first of the English Jacobites (outside Northumberland) to join the Scottish and Northumbrian force when it entered Cumberland, and was among the prisoners of Preston. The evidence for his defence on his trial in London was unquestionably feeble. His friend and neighbour the Vicar of Cockerham testified that he had never heard Mr. Dalton speak against the Government—as if he would have been likely to air his political sentiments to a Whig parson;

that he had been known to drink the health of King George on several different occasions—a convivial ceremony which a country gentleman who was not keen on quarrels could not always avoid; and that the same clerical witness had once heard him utter some scruples concerning the Catholic religion. Pressed by the Court, however, as to why, as a clergyman of the Church of England, he had not tried to confirm the said scruples, the would-be friendly vicar was obliged to admit that when the attempt was made the scruples had disappeared. Such defence of a papist rebel taken in arms was obviously nothing to the purpose. John Dalton was found guilty, the Lord Chief Justice expressing his regret that he found so little reason for holding out any hope of mercy. In the result, he was not hanged. After a long imprisonment in Newgate—the horrible Newgate of those days—he obtained his release by the payment of enormous fines, and the story goes that he walked all the way from London into Lancashire, in a state of destitution, to find Thurnham Hall deserted save by his wife whom he discovered in a wood behind the house gathering sticks for her fire. Some hundred and sixty persons were attainted of High Treason in 1715-16. The list comprehends many eminent Catholic names—Radcliffe, of course; Widdrington, Talbot, Errington. “John Dalton, Esq. of Lancashire,” appears therein, together with “John Dalton, Priest.”

While Catholic Northumberland bore the brunt of the 'Fifteen, it was Catholic Lancashire that suffered the most heavily after the 'Forty-five. It has until recently been taken for granted that the latter enterprise held out a prospect of success that was altogether wanting to the former. Fuller criticism, however, based on fuller knowledge, has well-nigh conclusively shown that the adventure of Prince Charles Edward was lost, not by Culloden, not by the retreat from Derby, but by the advance into England in November, 1745. And if that be so, there is the more reason for the wonder of common-sense that the sons of the men who had made things worse for their Faith by the failure of thirty years before should run the least risk of a further failure that would make things worse still, while success—according to the experiences of nearly a hundred

and fifty years of persecution under Stuart and Guelph alike—would make things no better. Obvious prudence must have counselled a disconnection of Catholics from even the appearance of disaffection to the actual occupant of the throne : and this for the sake of their Church, whose only hope of relief from her intolerable burdens lay in living down Protestant suspicion and ill-will. Well, common-sense and worldly prudence must remain outraged by the speech delivered on the scaffold by a devout Catholic from the Highlands, Donald Macdonald of Tiendrish—"It was principle, and a thorough conviction of its being my duty to God, my injured king, and my oppressed country, which engaged me to take up arms under the standard of His Royal Highness Charles Prince of Wales ; I solemnly declare I had no by-views in drawing my sword in that just and honourable cause." *Fiat justitia ; ruat cælum.* The further we proceed, the less possible any other account of the Jacobitism of English Catholics appears to be.

The name and fate of Francis Townley, a Catholic of good family who joined the Prince's standard at Preston, are almost too well-known for special mention. It will be remembered that he was appointed to the command, under the title of colonel, of the three hundred Lancashire men who formed the "Manchester Regiment," his eight captains and subalterns being mostly Anglican non-jurors of respectable position in that town.\* It was this small but well-organized force that had the honour of holding Carlisle in order to cover the retreat of the main army into Scotland. The courageous self-devotion with which it accepted its certain doom entitles Francis Townley and his fellow-soldiers to a high place among those heroes of duty of whom their fellow-countrymen are so justly proud. Let that place be given them here. He and seventeen of his comrades were tried for high treason before Lord Chief Justice Lee, with six other judges and two magistrates as a special commission, at the Court House of St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, on July 15, 1746, and the four following

\* One of the captains was that James Dawson, of St. John's College, Cambridge, whose romantic story is familiar through its execrable versification by Shenstone.

days. A verdict of guilty was inevitable : and the prisoners were conveyed to Southwark gaol, there to wait there summons to the gallows, in heavy irons which at night were fastened to the floor. It is well to remember all that such a summons then implied. The barbarous sentence for treason was to the effect that the convict should be hanged, but not until he was dead (three minutes was the time generally allowed by the hangman), and then laid upon a block and disembowelled while still living, his entrails and other dismembered parts being cast into a fire before his eyes ; the tearing out of the heart, the severance of the head, and the quartering of the trunk concluding what was a portion of the law of England till scarcely more than ninety years ago. At six in the morning of July 30, nine of the prisoners, including Townley, were bidden to prepare for death, the warrant for their execution having been brought to the gaol only the evening before. Their irons having been knocked off, they were dragged on hurdles, with pinioned arms and the ropes for hanging them round their necks, to Kennington Common, where gallows, block and faggots had been prepared, and a great mob had gathered in a pouring rain to see the show. No priest, or for that matter any minister of religion, being permitted to attend these dying men, one of them, David Morgan (a Welsh barrister who had thrown in his lot with the foredoomed garrison of Carlisle), read some prayers, to which the others fervently responded. Townley, as the principal culprit, was the first to suffer. After hanging six minutes, he was taken down while still alive ; and the executioner, with unprofessional and unquestionably illegal humanity, cut his throat before proceeding to the more revolting part of the ceremony. In the other cases, all the hideous barbarities were punctiliously observed, the hangman, after the extraction of each heart holding it up for all the crowd to see, and crying : " Behold the heart of a Traitor : Long live King George ! "

All nine died as Townley had written that he hoped to die—" In a manner becoming a Christian and a soldier." Indeed the quiet resolution with which they suffered seems to have made much more impression upon the spectators in



the form of sympathetic admiration for their demeanour than of abhorrence for their crime.

Another of these nine brave men was a Catholic—Andrew Blyde, or Blood: the name is given in both forms. He was a Lancashire Yeoman, who had joined the Manchester Regiment at its first formation. A paper that he delivered on the scaffold to the Sheriff of Surrey is worth an extensive quotation, inasmuch as its manifest simplicity and sincerity set the motives of that psychological puzzle, the Catholic Jacobite militant, in a stronger light than that of speculation and surmise. After explaining his plea of "Guilty" at his trial on the ground that it had been extorted from him against his conscience by the importunities of his friends, a lapse specially included among the errors of his life for which it becomes him before else to ask Heaven's forgiveness, he writes :—

"For my own part I cheerfully submit to my fate; and I solemnly declare that when an account was brought me, last Monday afternoon, that I was doomed to die as this day, tho' I had as little reason as anybody under sentence to expect such news, I expressed a satisfaction in it: my giving way to the advice of my friends in pleading Guilty (tho' I am persuaded the advice was well meant) gave me extreme uneasiness, and I repented it as a cowardly mean action; but the anxiety of my mind was relieved as soon as I was informed (tho' unexpectedly) that I was ordered for the slaughter. I hope the God of Mercy will pardon my weakness in this part of my conduct, which I have heartily repented of; and I most humbly offer up my praises to the Throne of Grace that I can have the Christian courage to look death in the face in the comfortable hopes of eternal salvation.

"I die an unworthy member of the Catholic Church, which instructed me in the principles of loyalty to my Sovereign KING JAMES THE THIRD; whom I pray God Almighty to bless, together with his Royal progeny the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York; being well assured that Great Britain will never prosper until the Royal Family be restored to their undoubted rights. The brave, gallant, modest Prince needs only to be known in order to his being beloved and admired by all the good people of England, of what religion or persuasion soever; and the most rigid Whigs (the sworn enemies to the Royal Family under the specious pretence of asserting liberty) would upon their own principles, if they had not forsaken them, bravely stand up in the Cause of a young Hero who, I am persuaded, has nothing more at heart than the making this Country great and happy:

and it is my sincere opinion that Great Britain will never make any figure in the world as it ought to do but under the government of a British Monarch, uninfluenced by foreign considerations. German counsels now prevail, and this poor Island bleeds for the sake of a little paltry insignificant territory, and is upon that account become contemptible in all Courts of Europe. While I was at liberty I risked my life in defence of English Freedom ; and now I come to die in the same glorious CAUSE, I think it my duty to exhort my Fellow-subjects to do their King and themselves Justice. I pray God to bless my Country, which I hope will never suffer for the innocent blood that is this day spilt.

"I heartily forgive all my enemies, who have taken upon themselves the guilt of this day's Murder ; and earnestly beseech the Father Almighty that he will not lay this sin to their charge.

"Lastly I desire the prayers of all good Christians, and I beseech the Almighty to receive my departing soul. Amen. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen.

AND. BLYDE.

*Wednesday the 30th of July 1746.*

The evident conventionality of Andrew Blyde's arguments and of the phrases in which he endeavoured to express them proves how completely they had ingrained themselves into the class whom a quite ordinary Catholic farmer may be taken to typify. He, as the merest matter of course, ascribed to his faith his readiness to die for Right and Justice, and his passionate devotion to the welfare of a Country which had done its utmost to keep him in ignorance of what justice means. With what kind or amount of reason the Faith that inspired such principles came to be accounted unpatriotic, history fails to show.

Three weeks later three Scottish officers of the Carlisle garrison were hanged at the same place and in the same manner, of whom two, Donald Macdonald of Keppoch and James Nicholson, a coffee-house keeper of Leith, were Catholics, and were visited by a person suspected of being a Popish priest on the morning of their execution. On this occasion the sufferers were graciously permitted, as a special indulgence, to hang for fifteen minutes before dismemberment, instead of the customary three. All suffered with the fortitude of brave men bearing witness to what they believe to be the justice of their Cause. At nine in the morning of November 28 Sir John Wedderburn, a

Scotch Baronet, and four of his fellow-prisoners were given three hours' notice of their execution, and were accordingly drawn to Kennington at about noon, neither priest nor minister being permitted to attend them. Among them was James Bradshaw, a Catholic, who had spent upon the Cause of King James a fortune made in business as a merchant in Manchester, and had then served as a captain under Townley. All the revolting formalities of the sentence for High Treason were in their cases scrupulously observed.

Of course it was as Jacobite rebels that these men suffered whether in 1715-16 or in 1745-46, and not as Catholics : for their politics and not for their religion. Indeed it is impossible to trace any difference in the treatment of the Catholic and of the Protestant rebel. But there remains ample reason for an opinion that the latter was very substantially prejudiced through his association with the former, especially as his object was the restoration of a Catholic dynasty to the throne. The Whigs were by no means the popular party, as their statesmen perfectly well knew, during the reigns of the First and Second Georges. The Hanoverian Government's dread of a counter-revolution is now known to have been far deeper and longer lasting than could be realized while the two principal Jacobite revolts were treated in books of history as disconnected episodes, without any real root in the serious politics of the time. The organised vigilance imposed on local authorities, the elaborate system of espionage maintained without regard to cost at home and abroad, the calculated destruction of great houses like that of the Radcliffes, the wholesale massacre of prisoners in 1746\*—it can be called nothing else, even when conducted in judicial form—the ferocious treatment of the Scottish Highlands after Culloden, the anxious watch kept upon every movement of the exiled princes at a great expenditure for secret service for many years after any mere temporary danger would have been at an end, denote a chronic terror of the public temper on the part of the dominant faction.

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\* Two hundred and sixty-one beheaded, hanged or shot in this year alone ; while many hundreds more were shipped as slaves to the West Indies—which meant much the same thing.

The temper of the Whig Cabinet appears to have been accurately represented by one of its members, the Duke of Richmond, who, in a letter expressing his joy "that so many villains were destroyed" at Culloden, adds: "Indeed the rope must finish those that had escaped with their lives, else they" (the Government) "would deserve to have all this over again." The Duke of Cumberland writes to the Duke of Newcastle, the then Secretary of State, a protest against counsels of mercy, on the ground that though he now hopes "the affair to be almost over with regard to the military operations, the Jacobite rebellious principle is so rooted that the present generation must be pretty well wore out before the country will be quiet." Newcastle writes back to tell him that "his noble notions and wise measures were, if possible, more extraordinary and more meritorious than his wonderful success over the rebel force in the field," and obtains for him and his heirs male a grant from Parliament of £40,000 a year.

But while the Whig families who were running the House of Hanover were in such deadly fear of Jacobitism as a standing menace to their political existence, the country in general showed no symptoms of alarm—in itself, from the Government standpoint, the most alarming sign of all. But the country in general was as open to the cry of "No Popery" as at any time in its history, and thus ready to father the Jacobitism of High-Churchmen, Non-jurors, Tories with all the desire but with no peaceful prospects of power, and Scotchmen aggrieved by the still recent Act of Union, upon the Catholics as its maintenance and its inspiration. We have seen what manner of men the comparatively few Catholic Jacobites were—men with whom disinterested conscience *must* have been all in all: and such men must always and of necessity be few. They were an uncomprehended, incomprehensible, and therefore odious minority whom it was accordingly easy to identify with the most atrocious designs against British Liberty, or whatever else the cant-phrase of the hour might be. To be a Jacobite was to be a dupe, if not an agent, of the Pope: that is to say, of a monster sitting upon seven hills whose sole thought was how to make slaves of Britons who never

would be slaves. The public thanksgiving appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury for the victory of Culloden was the cue for a number of sermons throughout the country, in which the Hanoverian triumph was dealt with as the deliverance of a holy and chosen people from all the power of evil. A hymn composed for the occasion and sung during the thanksgiving service at Salisbury contains the stanza—

“Great was the day (the joy be great!)  
When God by William did defeat  
The desperate crew of France and Spain  
Sent forth by Hell and Rome in vain”—

“William” being, of course, the Duke of Cumberland. A Bishop, preaching on the same occasion in his cathedral, told his hearers that “it would be too shocking a scene, and not very proper for this place, to describe that amazing variety of torture and wretchedness that would be practised upon us should we ever be delivered over”—that is to say, to Popery. The note thus struck for every Vicar of Bray to follow resounded through the land on that day and for many a day to come. And it is enough to state the note, without tracing further the fantastic, sometimes ludicrous, not seldom blasphemous vibrations in which its echoes ran. Itself originally an echo, it was re-echoed until Jacobitism became obnoxious as a form of Popery, and Popery as a form of Jacobitism, and each as dangerous, not because it was itself, but because it was the other.

Popular applications of the proverb, “Where there is smoke there is fire,” are by no means always convincing. The smoke of ignorance, calumny, and prejudice need not imply the minutest spark of fire. None the less, the panic from which all this particular smoke arose was not entirely without assignable or wholly unreasonable cause. Despite the dynastic changes, the heir of King James II. continued to exercise over the Catholics of these Kingdoms, quite irrespectively of politics, a royal authority, not merely in the way of a pretence, but of the most real and substantial kind. Probably not many Catholics themselves were aware of the consistent maintenance by James styled the Third of an inherited right, acknowledged at Rome

under a Concordat, of nomination to the Irish dioceses and to the Vicariates Apostolic of England and Scotland. The Stuart papers at Windsor contain many documents bearing upon this unquestionably important matter. The earliest, dated from St. Germain, October 11, 1702, and addressed to Pope Clement XI., is the nomination of Dr. George Witham to be a Vicar-Apostolic in England (Vicar of the Midland District, 1703; of the Northern, 1715; died, 1725). In 1712, James, then at Lyons, nominates Cardinal Gualterio to be Protector of England, the office being vacant by the death of Cardinal Caprara, "by whose prudence and care the dissensions arising in the Church there had been partly checked." Nor were his nominations by any means mere formalities for the purpose of keeping alleged rights from lapsing. He seems to have exercised real vigilance over the spiritual needs of his hereditary realms. In 1707, for example, we find him representing to Cardinal Imperiali, the Protector of Ireland, the need for more bishops in that kingdom, their number being reduced to two, of whom only one is "at liberty to exercise his functions, the other being in prison." These nominations and acts connected with them extend over the whole of his long titular reign of sixty-five years, the last being to the Bishopric of Derry in 1765, only ten days before he died. Meanwhile in England, to name no others, the London District had received Bishops Petre (1720) and Challoner (1758) as Vicars-General nominated by King James. In point of fact, the right was exercised without any trace of political intention. The nominations—certainly, as need not be said, in the cases mentioned, and apparently in all—are beyond suspicion of any motive but that of the best possible selection. But however ignorant of the system the Catholics of this country may have been, or rather were, the Government knew all about it perfectly well. And it is assuredly no matter for surprise that a Catholic bishop, virtually appointed by a Catholic claimant of the British throne, should be accounted, nay, set down as of course, for an accredited centre of Jacobite conspiracy, influence and intrigue. The more innocent of politics a bishop might be, the more certainly would his attitude be

ascribed to the cunning of the Jesuit in disguise. The continued severity of the penal laws is really almost explicable, one might even say almost excusable, under such circumstances as these. What lends further support to the view is that, when the refusal of Clement XIII. to recognise the claims of Prince Charles Edward on his father's death, caused a final lapse of the right in question, the severity of the penal laws began simultaneously to relax, and the feeling that Catholic disabilities had ceased to be of precautionary value allowed to grow.

It has been growing into justice. But how much suffering would have been saved out of a hundred years if, amid the strife of parties, Englishmen had been able to recognise in the mostly obscure lives here briefly noted the qualities that a country should prize as the best part of its national soul! Those Catholics who underwent the doom of traitors a hundred and sixty and a hundred and ninety years ago may have been politically in error. But that is not the point; though, if they were, they erred in at least as good company as was to be found on the other side. The point is that they believed in the justice of their cause though it was not their own, and that they ascribed to the influence of their Faith their readiness to live and die for the Right only because it was the Right, and not because its success could in the remotest degree benefit themselves. As good Englishmen as were these Popish Traitors doubtless there are—better, who would wish to find?

R. E. FRANCILLON.

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# ART. VIII.—JOSEPH GOERRES: HIS WORK AND HIS FRIENDS.

## A SKETCH.

**J**OSEPH GOERRES is best known to English Catholics by his studies in mysticism and his connection with Clemens Brentano, the writer of fairy tales, the poet, and the interpreter of Anne Catherine Emmerich's strange revelations. But great as was Brentano's influence on Goerres, there are long chapters in the life of this epoch-making genius entirely untouched by the friend of his youth, and there is something so fascinating in his personality and achievements, so important in his work, so original in his inspiration, that even his mistakes and failures are interesting and instructive.

He came of a well-known mercantile family, distinguished above all for probity and common-sense, and was born at Coblenz in 1776. He was certainly the first of his kind that this commercial line had ever produced, and he suffered in consequence the usual lot of the misunderstood. Of a naturally reflective bent of mind, and having no one to guide him in the choice of his studies, at a very early age he began to think independently and to choose for himself. As he added to his remarkable talents prodigious industry and an innate love of knowledge, he was in no great need of a mentor, although some of his life-long literary defects might possibly have been avoided by the right kind of early mental discipline and training. Even as a small lad at school the usual branches of instruction were to him but as stepping-stones to more attractive themes. Already in the third class his favourite studies were poetry,

rhetoric, logic, physics, anatomy and astronomy. In astronomy his remarkable memory enabled him at a very early age to name and point out all the stars, and for his recreation he made a chart of the moon. At home he would occupy himself in his small attic with all kinds of experiments; he invented machines, erected scaffoldings out of his window, thereby causing the neighbours so much alarm that one evening they knocked up his father, and the respectable merchant surprised the boy by a domiciliary visit in dressing-gown and white cotton nightcap, and angrily upset all his son's scientific apparatus.

Joseph next turned his attention to mathematics and chemistry. He then took up philosophy and theology, and soon disputed with his professors on both these subjects. He once shocked them by saying that all their arguments were but earthworks behind which to shelter themselves. He studied hard and assimilated all he learned, adding to it a something of his own that was not always as safe as it was alluring. It was observed that he was the most untidy among his fellow-students, extremely careless in his dress, a fault that stuck to him through life, but his geniality, his bright wit and humour made him popular, while even his inclination for satire never alienated anyone. The touch of the Bohemian in him did no violence to the high-minded principle and moral uprightness for which his race was famed. He studied medicine at Bonn, and had serious thoughts of becoming a physician, but in the midst of this public events appealed so strongly to another part of his character that he unhesitatingly obeyed the call. Natural science, to which as a boy he had so strong a leaning, was again in after years to be a favourite subject, but meanwhile politics took his imagination by storm.

In common with all that was noble, generous, and enthusiastic in the youth of that period, Joseph Goerres, now at the age of twenty, intoxicated by the specious promises of the revolutionary party in France, and impatient of the long wars that had laid waste his country, heralded the promulgation of liberty and equality as the advent of a golden era in which all wrongs were to be redressed and the reign of justice was to begin. The

ecclesiastical electorates of the Rhine provinces had fallen into the hands of the French, the fortunes of war having decreed that German territory on the borders of France should, like Belgium and Northern Italy, be annexed to that country, and be transformed into a cis-Rhenan republic.

Goerres was a born leader, and his eloquence soon made itself apparent in the patriotic clubs that sprang up like mushrooms, while his first printed work, a pamphlet on *Universal Peace—an Ideal*, published at the very outbreak of the French revolution, expressed intense hatred of tyranny and his conviction that passing events in France were the harbingers of the dawn of freedom. The book was a counterpart to Kant's *Everlasting Peace*, but it afforded sufficient evidence that what Goerres aimed at was cosmopolitanism, a kind of Platonic world-citizenship with democracy for a basis. That he should by the exercise of his splendid natural gifts have roused the enthusiasm of his young contemporaries might have been expected, but it is somewhat surprising that sober, prosaic burghers of mature age should have been charmed by the same lures, the same wild, fantastic dreams. Goerres at this beginning of his career reminds one of the Lorelei, sitting upon her rock in his own legend-rich Rhine, singing the eerie, irresistible songs that drew the fisher on to his destruction in the waves below. But he won all hearts and even most heads to his cause, and perhaps the spell lay in the innocence and perfect integrity of his mind and character, rather than in his dazzling talents, so that when the illusions were dispelled he was able to say in all sincerity, "Even if I have sometimes cheated myself, at least I have had the good fortune not to soil my life by any disgraceful act."

But, in fact, the world itself was astonishingly young in 1797. In the hundred and odd years that have elapsed since then it has grown astonishingly old. Of enthusiasm there is little left, and we have all become wiseacres. Revolution on a large and imposing scale appears to be a thing of the past. We shall no doubt continue for some time to hear of isolated attempts to shake off the yoke that

is deemed unbearable, but the argument of Maxim guns has been proved effectual against the rising *en masse* of starving multitudes and the angry protests of the proletariat against ridiculous and costly wars. Reform, or what passes for such, will in future apparently be brought about by the overwhelming weight of public opinion guided by the Tolstoïs, the Jaurès, the Maxim Ghorkis of posterity, but it will have none of the violence of past attempts, and its apostles will no longer succeed as heroes or be punished as criminals. Without attempting to decide whether revolution is a positive evil or an unmixed blessing, let us merely attempt to get at the meaning of the word.

Revolution, we take it, is an abrupt and violent upheaval of a hitherto settled order of things; a breaking away from received tradition, and a veering round to a system diametrically opposed to it. It is a high-handed act on the part of the people or a section of them against the powers that be, and it aims at usurpation of those powers, at a change of places between the government and the governed. Whether the act be directed against the throne or against the altar, against secular or spiritual authority, matters little, or rather the one is germane to the other, and both will ultimately be involved. The Reformation, long considered to be a purely religious or purely anti-religious movement, according to the point of view of the student, is now seen to have spelled Revolution, and nothing more or less. Radicals like M. Jaurès and the party which he represents, do not shrink from the conclusion, and in 1892 the famous Frenchman astounded the Sorbonne by his Latin dissertation, in which he traced the beginning of socialism in Germany to Luther, Kant, Fichte, and Hegel.

But a century ago men were too near at least to one scene of action to discern the connection between Reformation and Revolution. Recent events still loomed too large to be seen in their proper focus, and many noble minds were filled with fervour for the supposed principles of the revolution, boasting loudly of the overthrow of the oppressor, while they little suspected that they were blindly worshipping the very things they most abhorred. Enamoured of liberty, equality, and fraternity, they yet con-

tributed to the advancement of a policy which in our day, far from realising the dream they dreamed, has culminated in slavery, tyranny, and hatred such as the world has seldom seen.

In 1797 Goerres founded a newspaper, and published in it Socialistic articles written with biting sarcasm, sparing neither friend or foe. It was suppressed by the authorities, but he immediately brought out another under a different title. He was next, being in his twenty-fourth year, commissioned by his fellow-citizens to head a deputation from the Rhine provinces to the French Government. The object of the deputation was to beg that these provinces might be relieved from the burden of a permanent army of occupation, and to entreat that they might either be incorporated into that rejuvenated France from which all things were hoped, or, failing this, be declared an independent republic. The deputation arrived in Paris at the moment of the fall of the Directory, and remained there for three months without obtaining an interview of the First Consul. When at last this audience was granted, Goerres did not fail to detect in Napoleon's fixed and dogged stare, in his rapid, restless manner in speech and movement, in his zig-zag walk, like that of a wild beast, the despot that was soon to be revealed to the consciousness of Europe.\* Many other things had suffered a "sad change" during those months in Paris. The Revolution had not brought about the El Dorado Goerres had in view. Men were still worldly, self-seeking, arrogant, and greedy. The great ideas with which he and his friends were absorbed were an object of ridicule to the demagogues of the hour. Disillusion was first slow, then rapid, and disgusted and irritated with all he had seen, he left the French capital and retired from the political arena. "All these dreams are of the past," he wrote about this time, "and I thank God that I have brought my love of science and art safely out of the storm."

Goerres has often been blamed for his youthful sympathy with revolution—perhaps because there is so little else to

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\* As if inspired with a prophetic spirit, he wrote to his fellow-citizens in this connection: "Take Suetonius by the hand, for the new Augustus is ready."

be blamed in his whole life, and he himself aptly and naively refuted the verdict of those who, later on, sat in judgement upon his past, with the cutting remark, "The sins of my youth are the virtues of your old age."

But if he had been blameworthy in following false lights, wandering fires that led only to destruction, there was something heroic in the way in which he surrendered his ambitious hopes, and settled down to the dull routine of a professor's life at Coblenz. He was created for great things; was clearly adapted to stand at the head of a Government, or, like his countryman Metternich, to attain to the highest offices in the State. But as things were then constituted, his honesty shrank from the prevailing note of Machiavellianism in public affairs, and he chose a humbler sphere, but one from which his conscience might issue unscathed. He obtained a post under the French Government as Professor of Physics at the Secondary College at Coblenz, and during this period wrote his *Aphorisms on Art*, his *Exposition of Psychology*, and his book on *Faith and Knowledge*, in which he followed a course of natural philosophy already familiarised by Schelling, advancing theories more than half pantheistic in their tendency, and exhibiting a certain exuberance not merely of language but of thought and illustration peculiar to all his writings. The pantheism was, however, but a stumbling-block and served like a *felix culpa* to reveal to him his real position, as a half unconscious wanderer from the true fold. The period which marks the fall of the German empire chronicles Goerres' return to the faith of the Church, which thenceforth possessed in him its most valiant defender.

His character developed rapidly between the years 1800 and 1805. The whole intent and purpose of his life was strengthened and deepened, and he wrote to a friend on the 15th November, 1805, "Meanwhile, I have worked laboriously and have struck fire. Light has come forth and has shone in upon me, and I look with pleasure on accomplished work and on that which has still to be done." The courage with which he laboured was deserving of some praise, for among his surroundings there was none

to share his enthusiasms or sympathize with his aims. Germany was sunk in artificiality, in servile and ape-like imitation of French manners, French idioms, and French morality. Only at Heidelberg there appeared to be some troubling of the stagnant waters, and in the autumn of 1806 Goerres, having obtained leave of absence from his professorial duties, removed thither.

Heidelberg had had a considerable literary reputation in the past, and now, after a century of decay and oblivion, it had arisen to a new life and became, till after the foundation of the university of Berlin in 1811, the leading school of German thought. Even the classic Jena could not boast so long a list of distinguished men as this revived intellectual centre. Romanticism was the order of the day, and by romanticism we mean the re-awakening of the Christian spirit in opposition to the cult of paganism in the exclusive study of the classic schools, which was the outcome of the Renaissance. Both Goethe and Schiller were distinctly pagan, and until the brothers Wilhelm and Jakob Grimm called attention to the treasures that lay hidden in the national literature of Germany, causing a burst of admiration by the depth of their learning and the charm of their interpretation, nothing obtained but insipid imitations of the antique.

To reconcile poetry with Christianity was the task which the romanticists proposed to themselves, and in pursuit of this end they turned to the Middle Ages as the prolific source of poetic inspiration. Apart from the stupendous works of ancient German folk-lore, the great masterpieces of mediæval poetry are to be found among the Romanesque nations (hence the term romanticism); among the Italians, who produced Dante, Ariosto, Tasso; among the Spaniards, who boast a Cervantes, a Calderon, and among the Portuguese, who claim Camoëns as their own. Shakespeare, though not a Romanesque or even a mediæval poet, was too commanding, too universal a genius not to be included in the list, while the broad and liberal romanticists embraced even the poetry of India and Persia.

The idea was not wanting in grandeur, but as far as the majority were concerned it remained an idea, a wonderfully beautiful dream, full of yearning memories, of



illusive anticipations. It was as if a dazzling meteor had appeared in the grey northern sky, trailing all the colour and brilliancy of the south, only to disappear as suddenly as it came. Meanwhile, the poetry that lies sleeping in all nature began to be heard once more, and in the silence of the forest, the old yet ever new story was told once again. The bells of ruined churches and castles seemed to ring without the touch of mortal hand; the trees bent their heads rustlingly as if the Lord walked in the vast solitudes, and man, overcome by the brightness, sank on his knees in prayer.

If romanticism did not fulfil its promise, the reason lies chiefly in the fact that its representatives were not in earnest about the renaissance of a Christian era in poetry. They regarded Catholic Christianity too much in a purely æsthetic light, and desired the beauty of its outward form without the essence of its faith. On this account there entered into their poems a certain artificial element, an insincere note which in some of them amounted to irony. Others, on the contrary, like Clemens Brentano, Ludwig Achim von Arnim, and Joseph Goerres, did magnificent work for the Catholic cause; of the two Schlegels, August Wilhelm, the translator of Shakespeare, confessed to no sympathy for Catholicism beyond an æsthetic leaning, and even quarrelled with his brother Friedrich when the latter, in 1803, was received into the Catholic Church. Friedrich von Schlegel, whose romanticism was displayed more in his philosophical, critical and historical works than in his poems (the best of which are his lyrics) made profound studies in mediæval lore. It was he who first reinstated the German Middle Ages in their proper place in history, after the contempt and belittling they had received at the hands of Luther and his followers. He showed how in the dark night of that paganism so idolised by the classical school, the light of Christianity had burst forth, and the Catholic Church had saved mankind from unnameable abysses of turpitude, and he declared that modern heathendom united to modern degeneracy could only be vanquished by the same means. Convictions such as these sufficiently explain his conversion.

Clemens Brentano and his brother-in-law, Achim von Arnim, had taken up their abode at Heidelberg and together worked at their collection of old German folk-songs, which appeared later in print under the title *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. In October, 1806, Goerres, who was a school friend of Brentano's, joined them and became a third in the bond. Brentano soon inspired him with the love of mediæval poetry, and Goerres out of heart with the times, plunged with something like desperation into the past. His studies were at once more scientific than those of Brentano and Arnim, but the trio supplemented each other admirably, and this the golden era of Heidelberg romanticism left little to be desired in the special kind of scholarship at which it aimed. The valley of the Neckar resounded with the exhilarating strains of the *Wunderhorn* and awakened joyful echoes everywhere; but lest life should be too full of mirth, a pretty little feud gave zest to the enterprise.

The classicists were up in arms, and Heidelberg became the battlefield on which the partisans of the two schools fought out their deadly quarrel.

Arnim and Brentano shared a huge, airy room in a tavern on the castle hill, enjoying little material comfort, but a magnificent view of town, river, and green hills beyond. In the day-time there was the bowling alley for recreation, and at night musical peasant voices and the distant murmur of the Neckar. Every evening they assembled at Goerres' lodging, and the three often sat till the small hours, without lights and on rickety chairs, for Goerres was obliged to live so economically that he only spent five Louis d'or a month. But such trifles as these in no wise disturbed the enthusiasm which possessed them all.

On the 14th November Goerres gave his first lecture on physiology. Fifteen students had announced themselves, but nearly seventy were present, and formed a sympathetic audience. In the following summer he lectured on the essence of philosophy and poetry, and began a series of lectures on ancient German literature, the first course of mediæval studies that had ever been given at a German university. The personality of the lecturer contributed

naturally to his success. His pupil, Joseph von Eichendorff, describes him as possessing "an overwhelming individuality, an inspired imagination, profound learning, incisive wit, an inexhaustible fund of poetry—enough for the equipment of a dozen ordinary poets." Scarcely less enthusiastic was the praise lavished upon him by Böhmer, who declared that intercourse with Goerres was "like a shower of grace." Creuzer longed for "a refreshing drink from the overflowing fountain of his mind." Even Perthes, whose political attitude towards Goerres was much less cordial, asserted that all who heard him speak were impressed with the great superiority of his mind. Voss, the redoubtable leader of the classicists, who was certainly not biassed in his favour, said of him, "Goerres, who has been here for the last six months lecturing with great success, is a wonderful being, cold in temperament but with a glowing imagination. He has more originality than clearness, more wit than accuracy, for he thinks nothing of sacrificing perspicuity for the sake of any whim." Later on, when Voss declared that Goerres was deficient in taste, and that his imagination would end in a lunatic asylum, the severity of his judgement may be explained by the strained relations between them.

Critics have often found fault with the want of academic method in his lectures, his vivid imagination overpowering him and spoiling the logical sequence of his thought. But this very manifest defect has been exaggerated until the undeniably great qualities of his spoken word have been overlooked. It is true that he was more poet than scholar, and that he had little reverence for pedagogues. In a letter to his step-mother soon after his arrival at Heidelberg he expressed himself thus: "The whole edifice of things here is too solid by half; people study the year through as though it were always Holy Week." He was determined to introduce a different style, and thought that the students were pleased with it. That he was not mistaken is proved by the words of one of his audience: "His exceedingly informal delivery was monotonous," says Joseph von Eichendorff, "it rose and sank like the distant sound of waves, but through the changeless ebb and flow shone two

wonderful eyes, sending lightning flashes hither and thither. His lecture resembled a magnificent tempest at night, raging amid hidden precipices on the one side, and on the other revealing new, undreamed of landscapes, which were suddenly lit up, suggesting thoughts that influenced one's whole after life."

Heinrich Voss had arrived at Heidelberg, in July, 1805, sent there by the government to exercise a general supervision over the university without the obligation of lecturing. He, however, considered it his duty to introduce the hexameter, and to extend his own special pedantry over the whole district. His arrival was a call to arms between the romanticists and the classicists. Nevertheless, in spite of his narrow-minded insistence on the old forms, Voss had not remained entirely a stranger to the new movement. He had even composed a song in the Gothic style, but when he was told that Arnim had said of the Nibelungen that they were in a certain sense what Homer was to the Greeks, he replied in forcible Saxon that this was to compare a pig-stye to a palace. It was a foregone conclusion, therefore, that the intercourse between Voss and the little band of romanticists would be exciting, though at first the old man was on an almost friendly footing with them, and Goerres helped him to plan the house and garden which he intended to build. Soon, however, Voss began to be jealous of the youthful poets who went their own independent way past the lecture room where he in his professorial chair treated of antique metrical scansion, away into the green woods to listen unconcernedly to the songs of wild birds and the rustling of summer winds among the branches. To the irritation which this caused was soon joined religious prejudice. Stolberg's conversion to the Catholic Church had aroused an insane dread of Jesuit influence, and another grievance although imaginary, on the part of Voss and his friends did not mend matters. Brentano and Goerres had together published a little book called *Watchmaker Bogs*, Bogs being an invention formed out of the first and last letters of each of their names. The book was the outcome of a joke, and was full of the liveliest nonsense. The earth and life

are announced as having been newly repaired and about to be farmed out to man as burgher, in the form of land and estate. All those who still desire to belong to the human race are required to make a statement concerning their personal character and principles, and to get themselves enrolled in the Society of the Guardian Angels. Hereupon, Bogs confesses that he is a classical watchmaker and an enemy of the new romanticists clique, but that he feels within himself a suspicious liking for ancient church music. The Society, in order to test the accuracy of this orders him to attend a concert, and Bogs undergoes all kinds of fantastic visions, and is afterwards examined as to his mental condition. The physicians discover many romanticist curiosities in his brain, and declare that he has two faces, one yellow with dark eyes (Clemens Brentano) the other white with blue eyes (Achim von Arnim). This two-fold being rends itself asunder, the choleric dark-eyed one takes flight, and his sanguine blue-eyed companion is to be admitted into the Society of the Guardian Angels, on condition that he delivers up the vagabond with whom he has been so long associated.\*

Voss had some ground for thinking that this odd skit was intended for him, but Goerres always maintained that the satire was directed more against themselves. At all events the prosy retorts which Voss published in a Stuttgart newspaper, *Das Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* were clumsy efforts at repartee in comparison with the lightness of touch with which the teasing had been administered.

The *Morgenblatt* was the principal organ of the classicists. In its beginning the editor had tried to induce Goerres to write for it, but he refused point blank, saying that he would have nothing to do with it even if offered a double honorarium for all his contributions. Thus war was declared, and a formula drawn up by Goerres and signed by eighteen Heidelberg professors set forth the complaints of the romanticists against the classicists. Voss carried on the campaign with the violence for which

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\* Arnim remained friendly to Voss much longer than Brentano, and Voss tried to win him over to his views.

he was noted, and Goerres wrote playfully in 1808, "Voss has become quite mad and has fired off Vogel Greif (the biggest cannon in the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein) which has been pointed at the romanticists for the last six years, and everyone thought the world was about to see the last day. Nevertheless, things remain standing."

In April, 1808 appeared the first number of the *Einsiedlerzeitung* (newspaper for Hermits), which the three friends brought out together. Its short life which ended in August of the same year was brilliant. One of its characteristics was that the articles which appeared in it were not written for the public, for which the editors professed a sovereign contempt, but to please themselves. Arnim was the leading spirit in this enterprise, but Brentano and Goerres were his leal henchmen. It was a motley collection of fragments of ancient poetry and prose from the earliest sagas to the newest effusions of the most modern writers. It contained impertinent satires and sarcastic replies to the attacks of the *Morgenblatt* on the editorial trio. The contributors are all famous, and their names testify to the literary importance of the short-lived newspaper. They were Grimm, Uhland, Kerner, both Schlegels, de la Motte Fouqué. Sometimes pieces not originally composed for the *Einsiedlerzeitung* by Tieck, Schiller and other celebrities appeared in its remarkable pages. Jakob Grimm first made himself heard through this medium, and it is the lasting glory of this branch of romanticism that it paved its way to the scientific study of German antiquity. The superficial dilettantism of the Heidelberg school was eventually to be raised by the Grimms to a high degree of scientific perfection.

Meanwhile, in spite of its unique character and varied contents, the *Einsiedlerzeitung* had few readers, and the *Morgenblatt* spent itself in cheap witticisms on the score of its small number of subscribers. After a five months' existence it came to an untimely end, and somewhat later, Goerres, writing in reference to this episode, said: "We have learned what we might have known sooner, that it is useless to bed out flowers before the spring has come. I was the first to tire of the whole thing."

Nevertheless, his two years' sojourn on the banks of the Neckar was no failure. It proved, on the contrary, to have been the most important in his career. What he owed to it may be best inferred from his own words to his friend Charles de Villers: "I came in contact with many good people in whose life association with me will not have been unproductive of good. I lived among the flower of the University, I learned much, worked hard, and accumulated valuable experience."

Goerres returned to Coblenz, where the government had kept his professorial chair unoccupied for him, and during the next few years he lived in great retirement, immersed in scientific labours. Now and then, friends of the new romanticism visited him on their way up and down the Rhine, but the world at large heard little of him. The Heidelberg germ was developing. He began the study of Persian, and in 1810 published his *History of Asiatic Myths*, which proved to be an epoch-making book. Clemens Brentano had introduced him to ancient German literature and the Romantic School, and another Heidelberg friend, Professor Friedrich Creuzer, visiting him at Coblenz, had persuaded him to take up mythological studies. This incidentally led him to study Oriental poetry, while Creuzer himself worked at Greek mythology.

The fundamental theory of Goerres' *Asiatic Myths* is the unity of all historic mythology, founded on the universal idea of God, and the oneness of the human race. The subject belongs to the domain of the philosophy of religion. Windischmann proclaimed the book the work of a gigantic intellect, and a powerful incentive to the deeper study of the important basis on which the education of mankind rests. The author, he went on to say, had displayed genius little short of inspiration in his treatment of the subject.

As a result of these studies Goerres felt himself drawn to the ancient source of the Germanic races, and he formed the resolution of adding Sanscrit to his repertoire; but this plan was not destined to be realized.

Among the books from the Cassel library which Grimm had lent him for his Persian studies was a volume of *Oriental Collections* translated into English by Sir William



Ouseley. Grimm drew his attention to several passages in this book which he greatly admired, and expressed the wish that "this tremendous poem—the *Shah Nameh*—might be known among us." He referred to Champion's English translation,\* which he condemned as "a very poor affair." It was, perhaps, these words which roused in Goerres the desire to undertake the gigantic work of translating the great national epic of Persia into German. At all events, three months later he applied for the loan of one of the two Göttingen manuscripts of the poem, saying that he had really only learned Persian for the sake of this poem. Grimm supplied him with the codex, and he set to work forthwith. The zeal and industry with which he threw himself into the task of translation are apparent from one of his letters :—"The *Shah Nameh* has been in my hands for the last five weeks," he wrote, "and during this time I have worked through the first six dynasties and 7,000 verses, with my 4,000 roots, which I learned by heart." The book is as entertaining, he declares, as the *Thousand and one Nights*; the colours are laid on richly, the verses flow in the rhythm of the swift, slenderly-built horses of that wonderful land. The poetry, he assures the Grimms, is quite peculiar in its way, not so nervous as that of the North, but milder, more golden, more smiling, and fuller of human warmth. Two years after beginning to learn Persian he had translated 60,000 double couplets of the *Shah Nameh*, and the whole appeared to him "like a wonderful, shining *Fata Morgana*." What he had accomplished was about two-thirds of the entire poem, the whole seeming to him a superhuman task for one individual. The publication of this work up to the death of Rustum was delayed for some time, and in the interval Goerres returned to his old German studies from which he was torn by the rising of the whole country in the wars of emancipation. When Blücher crossed the Rhine on January 23, Goerres responded with the first number of his *Rhenish Mercury*, and for a time he was completely absorbed in the fresh developments of the political world. The paper

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\* The poems of Ferdosi, translated by Joseph Champion, Calcutta, 1785.

during its whole career was written almost entirely by himself. It carried immense weight, and Napoleon nicknamed it "la cinquième puissance." He had long outlived his republican dreams, and now saw the salvation of Germany alone in the establishment of constitutional monarchies under the sovereignty of a German emperor. But to his dismay these monarchies violated the oaths with which they had promised constitutions to the smaller principalities, and they now rose in defence of their liberties. Goerres expressed his indignation in no measured terms. He was warned, but took no heed of remonstrances, and the *Mercury* was suppressed. He wrote his *Germany and the Revolution* and was banished for a time to Strassburg.

Wilhelm Grimm urged him to return to his literary pursuits. "I am expected," he said, in June 1817, "to write the introduction to the *Shah Nameh*, but the great distress all over the country occupies me otherwise, and I should think it a sin to sit comfortably at my writing-table while outside hunger and misery are claiming the attention of others." His activity now took the form of co-operation in the Coblenz Aid-Society, to counteract the wide-spread calamities brought about by the utter failure of the harvest that year. But at last, in May, 1819, he had finished the voluminous introduction to the *Shah Nameh*, and in the following spring the book was published. Windischmann described it as a Herculean task and Goerres himself as a Heracles of scientific knowledge. That there was little exaggeration in this praise is evident when we consider that in two years the author had not only taught himself Persian, beginning with the very alphabet, but had translated Ferdosi's great masterpiece. Added to this was the circumstance that he had no printed book to work from, his only guide being a badly written manuscript, very difficult to decipher. Moreover, he had many obstacles to surmount in the language itself, even the richness of the German tongue being inadequate to express the Persian play of words, the half-tones, in which Ferdosi was so often the despair of his translator. Arnim was filled with admiration that Goerres, alone in an unliterary little town, without a library, had undertaken

what thousands with every facility at their elbows had shrunk from. But the result also was deserving of the most respectful recognition, and this too was not wanting.

The learned Joseph von Hammer, in a searching examination of Goerres' book, commended in high terms not only its philological and historical excellences, but dwelt with extreme satisfaction on his scholarly introduction. Nevertheless, it by no means redounds to the credit of the German literary world that the work has never reached a second edition, although for thirty years it was the sole means for those ignorant of the Persian language to become acquainted with the great epic of Iran. This is the more remarkable because Champion's incomplete and tasteless English translation was re-edited five years after its first appearance. The reason of this may have been partly that Champion wrote in verse, while Goerres, although he understood well the value of rhythm in making known the poetical excellence of Ferdosi's epic, was obliged to confine himself within the limits of a prose translation. Easy, flowing, and picturesque as was his prose, he was totally unable to make verses, language rebelling against his attempts at metrical composition. In this respect, therefore, von Schack's and Rückert's work, accomplished some years later, is a distinct improvement, but von Schack only translated the principal groups of the first part of the *Shah Nameh*, and Rückert mastered but one half of the poem, so that even at the present day Goerres' book is unrivalled except by the Italian metrical translation of Italo Pizzi—*Il Libro dei Re*, and the French prose rendering of Jules Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*.

Goerres, in his carefully elaborated introduction, recognised to the full that Ferdosi's work was not a poetical chronicle, but an epic planned with a perfect regard to all the unities, the gigantic masses of which are held together by the single idea of revenge developing into a permanent feud between Iran and Turan. The stories cover not centuries, but thousands of years. One episode, the legend of Rustum and his son Sohrab, has been admirably treated by Matthew Arnold.

The German studies which Goerres broke off suddenly during the political crisis of 1814 he resumed after writing the introduction to his *Shah Nameh*, and set to work on *Lohengrin*. *Reinecke the Fox*, the *Nibelungen* followed in quick succession, as did also his *Collection of old German Volks- and Meisterlieder* from manuscripts in the library of Heidelberg. Of this latter work, he declared that it was an easy task that almost repaid him his travelling expenses. Immense were the plans he made for future excursions into the dim twilight of the primeval forests of Germany. He intended to bring out a universal history of legends, myths and sagas. *Hunibald's Chronicle*, of which Abbot Trithemiws edited a portion, he hoped to find in the Vatican library. "For five years I have been working without intermission," he wrote in 1827, "and the labour is always increasing. I swim and I swim endlessly." Then suddenly, in the midst of all this swimming, he was appointed to the Chair of History at the University of Munich, and there came an end to the old-German period of his career. Goerres was now plunged into the very midst of the burning religious questions of the day, for Munich was at the heart and centre of them. Henceforth Catholics looked to him as the foremost defender of the faith in Germany. Having made himself intimately acquainted with the polemics on both sides, he became a frequent contributor to the *Katholik*, and his apologetic and dogmatic articles attracted much attention. He was acknowledged to be without doubt the ablest and most competent lay theologian of modern times.

Mysticism had always appealed strongly to him, its strange manifestations interesting him profoundly, while his intensely sensitive imagination found in them the food that best suited it. His first contribution to the *Katholik* was his "St. Francis of Assisi, Troubadour," an article that was afterwards published separately. Clemens Brentano considered it the best thing he had ever written. "It is stigmatised," he wrote in his quaint fashion, "the others are partly tattooed." Like so many of Goerres' writings, it lacks the critical faculty, and the same may perhaps be said of his *Christliche Mystik*, in four volumes. His introduction

to Suso's *Life and Works*\* is a most excellent, luminous and exhaustive treatise on mysticism. "There exists," says Dr. Augustine Wibbelt,† "no better introduction to a correct understanding of the mystical writers of the Middle Ages, who have a distinct bearing and influence on our literature down to the present day." Diepenbrock himself thoroughly appreciated the preface to his own book. "It is astonishing," he wrote to Goerres, "how beneath your gaze everything springs to life, takes an organic form, and unfolds its innermost being. And how unerringly your hand paints what your eyes behold! You are not a poet, not a philosopher, not a theologian, but a trinity of all combined, and theology, philosophy, poetry have their living abode in you."

The introduction to Suso is in three parts. In the first part Goerres describes in strong colours and with great freedom the circumstances and conditions of life in the fourteenth century in respect to Church and State, which called forth the peculiar idiosyncrasies of the mystics, showing how it was that these interior, holy and mortified men repeatedly came into conflict with the hierarchy. Failure drove them into solitudes where they gave themselves up to an intimate and intensely spiritual intercourse with God. "In this interchange of mysterious communications, hidden from the exterior world, in the silence of the desert, and under a veil of secrecy," says Goerres, "Christian mysticism developed. It was a higher and more spiritual union of the divine essence with what was best in the creature."

In the second part he deals collectively with the various manifestations and laws of mysticism in the most comprehensive manner. A two-fold power is in man, will-power and the power of thought; their sphere of action is also two-fold—active and passive, the objects towards which they are directed being likewise two-fold—

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\* "Heinrich Susos (genannt Amandus) Leben und Schriften. Nach den ältesten Handschriften und Drucken, &c., Herausgegeben von Melchior Diepenbrock, Priester und Privatsekretär des hochw. Herrn Bischofs von Sailer, mit einer Einleitung von J. Goerres. Regensburg, 1829."

† *Joseph von Goerres als Litterarhistoriker*, p. 71. Köln, 1899.

nature and God. Between God and man sin has intervened as a disturbing medium, but the relations between God and fallen nature are improved and raised by grace through the soul's co-operation. The first condition, however, for such an improvement is purification by means of strict discipline, then the banishment of obstacles, and a spiritual recollection or gathering together of the powers of thought, mystical quiescence, and lastly the emancipation and the raising of the will, mystical detachment. "In this way," says Goerres, "the soul is prepared to receive the unspeakable Passion of the dazzling brightness, the unfathomable abyss of the Godhead." Then begins the higher visitations, and if to the soul is granted that after which it aspires, it soon begins to perceive the presence of the approaching object of its desire. Nearer and nearer is heard the brooding of His wings; in the rushing of their mighty volume the air is divided into waves of ever-increasing magnitude, and the expectant soul feels itself surrounded by a heavenly atmosphere. Then the soft, gentle wind becomes a storm, and the fiery rain of ecstasy descends upon the thirsting soul, and as the earth in spring-time is intoxicated when the warm fructifying showers fall upon it, so the soul now sinks into a sweet rapture, and all that was yet stiff and hard in it is melted in the flood, and that which was locked in an icy grasp is resolved into longing desire.

Goerres enters yet more fully into detail concerning the various degrees of mystical ecstasy, and seeks to throw light on the necessarily obscure subject by means of parallels and antitheses drawn from physical science, and even from animal magnetism. But partly from the very nature of the subject, and partly from the redundancy of his style, he is often confused and incomprehensible. After a long historical disquisition the gem of which is his exquisite sketch of the life of St. Catharine of Siena, he turns in the third part to Henry Suso, and describes his poetical nature, his character, his peculiarities, and his gift of eloquence, relating the principal events of his life, the lines of which flowed in one harmonious, consistent whole. In analysing his explanation of the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity,

Goerres shows that Suso sailed dangerously near the cliffs of pantheism, but that he steered happily past them, not however without suffering some damage. This introduction to Diepenbrock's work was highly praised by Menzel,\* who considered it as scientific as it was ingenious.

Goerres' last considerable work of an historical nature is his preface to a history of Spanish literature. He had made himself acquainted with the language and history of Spain during his exile at Strassburg, and entered warmly into a movement towards an intelligent study of the long-neglected literature of the South. After explaining briefly the foreign influence to which the Iberians and their language had been subjected in the course of ages, he points out the connection between the intellectual life of a nation and that vegetable life which is dependent on climate and soil. The idea is fantastic but so Goerres-like that we cannot refrain from quoting his words: "Everywhere we see poetry exhaling the perfume of the flowers of its native land. This perfume has saturated it and produced in a higher degree the same form with which it was clothed outwardly and tangibly. Thus, Indian poetry has become in its very expressions a reflection of the flowery jungle where it was born. The light which emanates from the cloudless sky of Persia and floods its mountain terraces shines in the same manner out of all the poetry of Iran. The equable warmth and salubrity of the Ionian climate which called to birth the flora of Anatolia produced the poetry of Homer. As the fir-tree of the North defies the cold, and protects itself against the influences of winter, even so has Scandinavian poetry covered itself with the scaly armour of alliteration, behind which in brave self-relying strength it bids defiance to every foe. In a land such as Southern and Western Spain, where the pomegranate and the myrtle blossom, and the agrumis is ever green, poetry will take the self-same form. Imagination will glow in the fire of the pomegranate, the works of art which it fashions will be graceful as the growth and shape of the myrtle; like the agrumis, it will never be shorn of

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\* *Litteratur-Blatt*. 1831. No. 36.



its leaves, and blossom and fruit will together hide themselves beneath the thick foliage."

Goerres wrote this preface in 1846, and on January 29, 1848, he died. Thus his literary labours extended over the whole of his life, from 1804 when he began his *Corruscations*. For a whole decade he gave himself up with youthful enthusiasm to these studies. His folk books are also among the early blossoms of his spring. Then began the stormy passages of his manhood, when he succeeded only at intervals in devoting himself to the poetry he had learned to love so well. But this period was not without fruit, and his *Shah Nameh* is one of his choicest productions. At a more mature age other duties and interests engrossed him, resulting in his valuable contributions of *Introductions* to the works of other authors. Passing in review the crowded years of his well-spent life; it is impossible not to arrive at the conclusion that he accomplished much work of the utmost importance, and that he deserves more recognition than is commonly bestowed on him, for his labours were not only immense in themselves but they extended over a vast area. As a political pamphleteer, he spoke to princes and people, and was eminent in this department. Next in value are his literary-historical and theological-literary works, to which Catholics owe so much. It must be admitted, however, that his philological training left something to be desired, and that his gifts of fancy frequently misled him into false inferences and assertions, and finally that he often indulged in wearisome disquisitions of great length and irrelevancy. But these weaknesses may be readily forgiven in regard to the advantages which accrue to us from his optimistic and uncritical acceptance of every kind of contribution to his subject, good, bad and indifferent, resulting in the accumulation of a great wealth of material, while even his boldest and most unwarrantable inferences not unfrequently threw a surprising amount of light upon difficult problems. His friendship with the Grimm fraternity, his helpful participation in their work, assure him an honourable place in the history of the revival of Germanistic studies. He was, moreover, a sturdy pioneer in the domain of general

literature, and perhaps his greatest strength lay in the grandeur and unity of his conceptions, in his broad and generous recognition of genius even when in this regard he was sometimes a little too indulgent in his meed of praise. But this, too, had its advantage as being a healthy reaction from the classical one-sidedness and narrowness of a Voss, and a very natural exaggeration when we consider what must have been his delight at the discovery of a rich mine of treasure such as Gothic literature proved itself to be.

As to his language, which together with its good qualities was guilty of many vices, especially those of redundancy, obscurity and too great luxuriance, it was undoubtedly suited to its character as herald of the newly-discovered lore.

Moreover, his whole matter was permeated with a downright Christian spirit which, while it made for uncompromising morality, was devoid of all narrowness. He had a large understanding and a broad sympathy for all that was beautiful and noble, in whatever form it presented itself, and the example he gave of a disinterested, enthusiastic pursuit of truth cannot be too highly appreciated. He has been reproached with not having studied or given due consideration to the ancient classics. The charge cannot altogether be denied, but his actual course of study makes it clear why he remained more or less a stranger to this class of literature. An intimate acquaintance with it would undoubtedly have been an advantage to him, and would have taught him more wisely to control and guide the prodigious mental gifts with which he was endowed. Many passages in his writings show that he himself recognised this want, but the times in which he lived and his place in them were not favourable to such a study, while the patriotic reaction in favour of national literature would alone have effectually prevented his devoting himself to that of Greece and Rome. Of his literary-historical works it may be said that they are of very unequal merit. Some are far too vague, general, and discursive to be useful; others are masterpieces of observation, keen discrimination, and of æsthetic knowledge.

The foregoing remarks are necessarily imperfect and inadequate; the life and labours of such a man might well fill weighty tomes, but enough has been said to indicate the general trend of his genius.

We have not failed to note that among his other endowments, Joseph Goerres possessed the true spirit of poetry, although he was not gifted with the power of metrical composition. It was fitting, therefore, that his son Guido, the centenary of whose birth is celebrated this year, should have been a poet *de facto*. His whole life was like that of his father given to literature, and his verse naïf and touching, full of humour, brightness, and charm is still appreciated. Guido Goerres founded the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, a review which at the present day is still the principal organ of Catholic interests in Germany.

J. M. STONE.

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## Roman Decrees.

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### The Sacred Congregation of the Council.

AN important decree of this Congregation on the subject of Manual Masses was recently published in this Review. Some doubts as to the interpretation of the Decree having been raised, the following decisions have recently been given on the subject :

#### I.—ALIPHAN.

*Circa interpretationem Decreti super Missas manuales.*

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus Aliphanus humiliter petit solutionem sequentium dubiorum, quae sese referunt ad Decretum *Ut debita sollicitudine* editum a S. Congr. Concilii die 11 Maii 1904 :—

I. An Missae, quae ex onere perpetuo inhaerent ecclesiae, monasterio, confraternitatibus aut locis piis quibuscumque, sed in nulla ecclesia sunt constitutae, ita ut a quolibet sacerdote pro administratorum arbitrio ubivis applicari possint, accenseri debeant inter fundatas vel potius inter manuales ad effectum decreti?

II. An sacerdotes, quibus a rectoribus seu administratoribus ecclesiarum committitur satisfactio unius aut plurium legatorum Missarum, in ecclesia fundatorum, possint pro suo arbitrio committere earum Missarum celebrationem aliis sacerdotibus cum minori eleemosyna etiam extra ecclesiam propriam?

III. An sacerdotes fruenter cappellaniis fundatis sive ecclesiasticis sive laicalibus possint aliis sacerdotibus Missas suarum cappellaniarum celebrandas committere statuta eleemosyna pro suo arbitrio?

IV. An Episcopus possit sub censuris latae sententiae compel-

lere sacerdotes, beneficiatos et administratores locorum piorum in fine cuiuslibet anni ad sibi tradendas Missas, quibus infra annum non satisfecerint, et sub iisdem poenis illis prohibere ne mittant extra dioecesim?

*Die 19 Decembris 1904.*

S. Congregatio Concilii Tridentini Interpres praedictis dubiis ita respondendum censuit :

Ad I. *Habendas esse ad instar manualium.*

Ad II. *Non posse.*

Ad III. *Negative, et servandas esse dispositiones articuli XV decreti.*

Ad IV. *Contra transgressores articuli IV citati decreti Episcopum procedere posse in particulari, servatis de iure servandis, etiam cum censuris.*

L † S. † VINCENTIUS Card. Ep. Praenest., *Praefectus.*  
CAIETANUS DE LAI, *Secretarius.*

**Circa Decretum "De Observandis."**

BEATISSIME PATER,

P. Pancratius Pfeiffer, Procurator Generalis Societatis Divini Salvatoris, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus humillime exponit :

Societas Divini Salvatoris quotannis magnum numerum recipit ss. Missarum, quibus ipsa per suos sacerdotes persolvendis impar esse solet. Hucusque Societas fruebatur privilegio, quo obligationibus Missarum persolvendarum, exceptis Missis urgentibus, infra sex menses satisfacere posset; quas vero per suos sacerdotes celebrare non poterat, eas tradere sibi liceret S. C. Visitationis Apostolicae cum stipendio reducto unius libellae, tradita quarta parte harum Missarum cum stipendiis suis integris. Cum Societas, quae indiget quam maxime auxilio amicorum et benefactorum, Missas per litteras plerumque oblatas sine gravi incommodo et damno refutare nequeat, humilis Orator enixe supplicat :—

I. Ut praefata Societas etiam in posterum quasvis Missas accipere possit etiam si praevideat futurum esse, ut per suos sacerdotes eas celebrare nequeat.

II. Ut obligationibus ss. Missarum infra tres menses satisfacere possit, exceptis urgentibus et iis quas accepit statim persolvendas.

III. Ut attestatio Missarum acceptarum, licet nondum persolutarum, a Societate scripto data, Societatem ipsam ab omni obligatione coram Deo et Ecclesia relevet.

IV. Denique supplicat idem humilis Orator ut Societas ss. Missarum partem aliquam a Sancta Sede statuendam in utilitatem Collegii Mariani Romani eiusdem Societatis retinere possit.

*Die 27 Februarii 1905.*

S. Congregatio Concilii Tridentini Interpres, vigore facultatum a SSmo. Dno. Nostro Pio PP. X sibi tributarum, propositis dubiis ita respondendum censuit :

Ad I. *Affirmative, vetita tamen studiosa collectione, ita nempe ut accipere possit Missas sponte oblatas, minime vero ab Episcopis aut sacerdotibus eas quaerere.*

Ad II. *Pro gratia iuxta petita.*

Ad III. *Pro Missis S. Sedi, Episcopis dioecesanis aut Superioribus Generalibus Ordinum seu Congregationum Religiosarum datis affirmative. Pro Missis privatis sacerdotibus commissis, negative, et servetur dispositio Decreti De Observandis.*

Ad IV. *Pro gratia retinendi duas pro singulis centenis.*

Praesentibus ad quinquennium valituris.

L † S. † VINCENTIUS Card. Ep. Praenest., Praefectus.  
CAIETANUS DE LAI, Secretarius.

# LEOPOLIEN.

Quoad interpretationem Decreti "De Observandis."

BEATISSIME PATER,

Archiepiscopus Leopoliensis Ruthenorum relate ad Decretum S. C. Concilii diei 11 Maii 1904 quoad Missas manuales, humiliter petit solutionem sequentium dubiorum :—

I. An iuxta art. 2 termini persolutionis statui possint :

usque ad 10 Missas 1 mensis			
„	20	„	2 mensium
„	40	„	3 „
„	60	„	4 „
„	80	„	5 „
„	100	„	6 „

et ita porro pro quibuslibet 20 Missis unum mensem addendo.

II. An hi termini intelligantur seorsim quoad quemlibet stipendium offerentem, vel etiam intelligi possint cumulative quoad omnes aliqua occasione v. g. in aliqua solemnitate offerentes ;

ita ut si tunc stipendia offeruntur a 100 oblatores, a quolibet pro una Missa, omnes hae Missae in termino sex mensium persolvi debeant.

III. An in casu art. 7 pro sacerdotibus qui ab Ordinario stipendia accipiunt, termini currant non a die quo primarii offerentes stipendia dederunt, sed ex concessione Apostolicae Sedis a die quo Ordinarius ipsis stipendia tribuit.

IV. An ista stipendia, etsi primario a pluribus offerentibus data, tamen in casu art. 7 tamquam ab uno scilicet Ordinario oblata censenda sint.

V. An liceat Ordinario omnibus his Missis communem generalem intentionem (ad intentionem dantium) praescribere, etsi a primariis offerentibus speciales intentiones praescriptae fuissent.

*Die 27 Februarii 1905.*

S. Congregatio Concilii Tridentini Interpres propositis dubiis ita respondendum censuit :

Ad I. *Rem relinqui discreto iudicio et conscientiae sacerdotum iuxta Decretum et regulas a probatis doctoribus traditas.*

Ad II. *Affirmative ad primam partem ; negative ad secundam, dummodo aliter non constet de voluntate oblatores.*

Ad III. *Affirmative, idest obligationem incipere a die quo sacerdotes Missas celebrandas ab Ordinario recipiunt.*

Ad IV. *Episcopus curet ut quaetenus fieri possit Missae, a pluribus receptae, a pluribus sacerdotibus tempore debito satisfiant.*

Ad V. *Sufficere ut sacerdotes celebrent iuxta mentem Ordinarii ; qui tamen intentionem pro singulis offerentibus efformare debet iuxta regulas a probatis theologiae moralis auctoribus traditas. Melius tamen esse si patefiant sacerdotibus intentiones praescriptae.*

L † S. † VINCENTIUS Card. Ep. Praenest., Praefectus.  
CAIETANUS DE LAI, Secretarius.

### The Biblical Commission.

*Circa citationes implicitas in S. Scriptura contentas.*

Cum ad normam directivam habendam pro studiosis Sacrae Scripturae proposita fuerit Commissioni Pontificiae de re biblica sequens quaestio, videlicet :—

Utrum ad enodandas difficultates quae occurrunt in nonnullis S. Scripturae textibus, qui facta historica referre videntur, liceat Exegetae catholico asserere agi in his de citatione tacita vel implicita documenti ab auctore non inspirato conscripti, cuius adserta omnia auctor inspiratus minime adprobare aut sua facere intendit, quaeque ideo ab errore immunia haberi non possunt ?



Praedicta Commissio respondendum censuit :

*Negative, excepto casu in quo, salvis sensu ac iudicio Ecclesiae solidis argumentis probetur : 1°. Hagiographum alterius dicta vel documenta revera citare ; 2°. Eadem nec probare, nec sua facere, ita ut iure censeatur non proprio nomine loqui.*

Die autem 13 Februarii anni 1905 Sanctissimus, referente me infrascripto Consultore ab Actis, praedictum responsum adprobavit atque publici iuris fieri mandavit.

L ✕ S. Fr. DAVID FLEMING, O.F.M., *Consultor ab Actis.*

## The Sacred Congregation of Rites.

### PLACENTINA IN HISPANIA.

**Dubia circa anticipationem recitationis Matutini sive privatim sive choraliter.**

Hodiernus Revmus. Episcopus Placentinus in Hispania Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi reverenter exposuit :—

Ex controversia abhinc paucis annis exorta circa horam qua Matutinum pro insequenti die incipi possit, asserentes quidam talem horam esse secundam pomeridianam, negantes alii, eamque protrahentes ad dimidietatem vesperae, prout in Directoriis dioecesanis praescribitur, quandam anxietatem non parvipendendam oriri inter obstrictos ad Divinum Officium. Quapropter idem Revmus. Episcopus sequentia dubia solvenda subiecit :

I. Utrum in privata recitatione Matutinum pro insequenti die incipi possit hora secunda pomeridiana, aut standum sit tabellae Directorii dioecesani omni tempore ?

II. Utrum etiam in publica seu choralis recitatione officium incipi possit hora secunda pomeridiana ?

III. Utrum hora recitandi Matutinum annumerari queat indiscriminatum ex meridiano circulo locali, aut ex meridiano circulo officiali dicto *Greenwik*, qui quidem anticipat horam circuli localis per tertiam horae partem plus minusve ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque mature perpensa respondendum censuit :

Ad I. *Consulantur probati auctores.*

Ad II. *Negative, nisi habeatur Indultum.*

Ad III. *Ad libitum.*

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 12 Maii 1905.

L ✕ S.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praef.*

D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen, *Secret.*

## Science Notices.

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### **The Normal Electrical Phenomena of the Atmosphere.—**

The paper on the Normal Electrical Phenomena of the Atmosphere, read by Mr. G. C. Simpson before the Royal Meteorological Society last July, contained a fund of information on a subject that has, up to a comparatively recent date, been most imperfectly understood. Mr. Simpson points out that in no branch of physics has the discovery of "ions," "electrons," and "radio-activity" produced a greater revolution than in that devoted to atmospheric electricity.

Until 1887 the potential gradient was the only factor of atmospheric electricity recognised and measured, but in that year Linss discovered another electrical property of atmospheric air in its ability to discharge a charged insulated body. For some time, however, it was thought that the leakage of electricity was either the result of defective insulation or the effect of atmospheric dust. In 1900 and 1901, Elster and Geitel in Germany, and C. T. R. Wilson in England, showed that dust-free air has the power to discharge perfectly insulated bodies; that pure air is not an insulator, but that it always contains a number of ions which give to it the power of conducting electricity like an electrolyte. This discovery exploded the previously obtaining theory that the earth's permanent negative charge is a residual charge left at the formation of the earth which had only been kept on the surface by the non-conducting atmosphere surrounding it. The theory became untenable when the atmosphere was found to be a comparatively good conductor, as such a residual charge on the earth's surface would be rapidly dissipated into the higher regions of the atmosphere.

The importance of the new discoveries was soon recognised, and in Germany many scientists have taken up the investigation, particularly Ebert, Gockel, and Zölss. One of the results of their researches is the discovery that the two kinds of electricity are not dissipated at the same rate. In the lower atmo-

sphere negative electricity is dissipated more rapidly than positive, the reason being that there are more positive than negative ions in the air near the surface, which is a consequence of the former being attracted downwards and the latter repelled upwards by the negative charge upon the earth. Quantitative research shows that the mean rate of dissipation of negative electricity is between 10 and 20 per cent. greater than that of positive.

Much attention has been directed to the determination of the meteorological influence on the temperature, the object being to investigate the rate at which the earth loses its charge at different times of the year and under different meteorological conditions.

It is found that increased wind-force increases the rate of dissipation of both positive and negative electricity. Temperature has a very decided influence. The lower the temperature, the less the dissipation. As regards relative humidity, when the humidity is less than about 60 per cent. it has little effect on the dissipation; as the humidity increases, the dissipation begins to be reduced; but the rate at which positive electricity is dissipated is reduced much faster than the rate of negative dissipation, so that the ratio of negative to positive dissipation becomes greater as the humidity increases. The clearness of the air also has an influence. Other conditions remaining the same, the clearer the air the greater the dissipation.

As no dissipation is possible without ions, and no ions can be produced without the action of some ionizer having the necessary energy to split up the neutral molecules, it becomes necessary to discover which are the ionizers at work in the atmosphere.

Laboratory experiments have indicated five ways by which air can be ionized: 1, ultra-violet light; 2, high temperature; 3, chemical processes; 4, X rays; 5, Becquerel rays. Each of these have been held responsible by various writers for the natural ionizations of the air.

Mr. Simpson, however, disposes of the first three as impossible or doubtful causes. Regarding the ultra-violet light, he admits that as the sun emits ultra-violet rays the air must be to some extent ionized by them, but says that it is quite impossible for any appreciable amount of the ionization of the lower atmosphere to be due to this cause; for all the rays which have ionizing powers will be absorbed in the upper atmosphere

long before they come near the layer of air investigated. Then as to temperature, it is a fact that the gas in flames is ionized, it being supposed that the ionization is caused by the breaking up of neutral molecules into ions either by their extensive vibration or by collisions caused by their high temperature. Thus it might be surmised that the ionization of a gas is a function of its temperature, as high velocities occur at all temperatures, only increasing in frequency as the temperature rises. Though careful experiments have been made on this point the results have been negative. To all appearances there is no change in the natural ionization of a gas as its temperature rises until a temperature of over  $850^{\circ}$  F. is reached, when a sudden ionization occurs. Temperature, therefore, cannot be considered as a cause of the ionizing forces in the atmosphere.

Regarding chemical processes, to explain why the ionizations of the air should be greater with higher than with low temperature, Gockel suggests a chemical ionizer. Since the production of ozone is accompanied by ionization, the production of ozone in the atmosphere might be expected to be accompanied by ionization. The fact that high temperature facilitates the production would be in favour of the chemical theory. Mr. Simpson, however, will not admit that there is yet a sufficient basis of fact to justify acceptance of the theory.

In X rays he finds the first trace of an active ionizer in the lower atmosphere. For some time it has been recognised that these rays have the power of ionizing a gas, but that they are absorbed by dense materials, such as lead and mercury. When a mass of gas is surrounded by thick walls of lead its natural ionization is reduced. Whether X rays have a terrestrial or a cosmical origin is undecided since they seem to traverse the air in all directions. It was found that these rays accounted for 20 per cent. of the natural ionizations of a gas enclosed in an experimental vessel.

To Becquerel rays, however, we must look as the chief source of ionizations in the atmosphere. Three suggested sources of Becquerel rays having power to ionize the atmosphere are mentioned: 1, the sun; 2, radio-active substances in the earth itself; 3, radio-active generations in the atmosphere. There appears to be no proof of the emission of Becquerel rays by the sun, but if they exist they would explain many riddles which have puzzled geophysicists for a long time. Assuming a discharge of B rays from the sun in all directions, it

has been demonstrated by a piece of mathematical work that the earth's magnetic field will cause these rays to enter our atmosphere in two rings, one circumscribing each pole. "The two theoretical regions correspond closely with the two regions of the earth in which the aurora is visible. This work gives great support to Birkeland's theory of the aurora. According to Birkeland the sun does emit B rays, and these reach the atmosphere in two specified rings. Where the rays enter the atmosphere they ionize the air, light being produced in a similar way to the glow in a vacuum tube." But Mr. Simpson thinks that if this theory is correct it is extremely doubtful if the rays could be recognised near the earth's surface, as the absorbing power of the atmosphere for such rays is equivalent to that of a 30-inch layer of mercury; and no X or B ray yet discovered could pierce such a mass of mercury. So the Becquerel rays derived from the sun must be left out of account when explaining the ionization of the lower atmosphere.

Concerning the Becquerel rays derived from the radio-active constituents of the earth's crust, such radio-active substances are present in at least minute quantities in all mineral substances. The rays emitted by these substances must be responsible for a more or less ionization of the lower atmosphere.

In passing to the last-mentioned source of Becquerel rays, the radio-active emanation in the atmosphere, the author calls attention to the fact that radio-active bodies are continually giving off a substance somewhat similar to a gas, and which is called emanation. This emanation can ionize a gas, and has the property of not being a permanent form of matter, so that it gradually disappears from a gas containing it. There is always a varying amount of radio-active emanation in the atmosphere, and the opinion is unhesitatingly given that part at least of the ionization of the air is due to this cause.

Regarding the influence of varying meteorological conditions in ionization, it is difficult to conceive that changes of density could affect X-ray radiations, owing to its penetrative qualities. The same conclusion applies to the radiation from the radio-active substances in the earth. So small is the amount of radio-active matter mixed up with the soil, that what is contained in the surface layer to a depth of about five inches would only very slightly ionize the air above. If an appreciable amount of ionization is due to radio-active matter, the latter must be at a greater depth than five inches. The effective

radiation must therefore have penetrated more than five inches of soil, and should be classed with the penetrative radiation from X rays.

It appears that the only source of radiation which is affected by meteorological conditions is the radio-active emanation of the atmosphere. In fact, the amount of emanation in the atmosphere has proved to be a very varying quantity, and to be largely dependent on different meteorological conditions.

The amount of emanation in the lower atmosphere is increased under the influence of the various conditions which tend to keep the air stagnant over the earth's surface. These are calm, low temperature and high relative humidity. On the other hand, high winds, high temperature, and low humidity accompany the circulation of the atmosphere. This is in agreement with the observation that atmospheric radio-activity increases with falling temperature, rising humidity, and increasing wind force. The explanation of the relation is as follows.

The ground contains almost universally radio-active substances continually giving off emanations. When the air is stagnant the emanation can only slowly pass from the lower atmosphere, which, under suitable circumstances, can become very highly charged with emanation. Thus one of the ionizing forces is very dependent on meteorological conditions, and it is asked whether this explains the dependence of the dissipation on meteorological conditions. But each of the meteorological conditions which tend to produce high values of the radio-activity accompany low values of the dissipation, the reverse of what would be expected from the ionizing properties of emanation, if the emanation were the chief ionizing factor of the atmosphere.

Mr. Simpson, however, reveals another cause to account for the relation between dissipation and meteorological factors, which is the rate at which ions recombine to form neutral molecules. When ions are brought into contact with material particles in the air, such as those of dust, gas, smoke, or ice, the former attach themselves to these particles and lose their properties as ions. The rate of recombination is also greatly affected by relative humidity.

The effect of continuous dissipation upon the charge on the earth's surface is then discussed. At all seasons of the year there is a marked connection between potential gradient and dissipation. High values of the former accompany lower values

of the latter. This is easily explained by the assumption that the earth is every second receiving a definite quantity of negative electricity. If this is the case, the earth would gradually charge up until the same amount of electricity is being dissipated as received. If the amount of dissipation were changed, the charge on the surface would increase or decrease until the balance is reached. But whence comes the constant charge of negative electricity? This is the chief problem of atmospheric electricity. Many are the theories that have been advanced to account for this constant charge. Some of these Mr. Simpson criticises at length, but he fails to find in them a satisfying answer, and contends that the discovery of ions, electrons, and radio-activity, instead of tending towards the solution of the chief problem of atmospheric electricity, has placed the investigator in greater confusion than ever. The formidable difficulties in the way of solution can only yield to the results of extended measurements in the atmosphere itself and to laboratory experiments directed to the problem.

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**An Ultra-violet Mercury Lamp.**—The Journal of the Franklin Institute for August last contains an interesting note on a new ultra-violet mercury lamp. Within recent years certain properties of radiant energy that is invisible, and known as the ultra-violet rays, have been found useful in medical practice. Therefore a demand has arisen for a practical and cheap apparatus for producing these ultra-violet rays. The want is supplied by a modification of the Hewitt mercury vapour lamp.

It consists of a straight tube made of special glass that is transparent to ultra-violet rays, 8 to 30 millimetres in diameter and 20 to 130 centimetres long. Platinum terminals are fused in through the glass at the two ends and are tipped with carbon knobs, so that each pole can be used either as a positive or negative pole. The lamp contains 50 to 150 grams of mercury. This mercury not only furnishes the vapour necessary for the working of the lamp, but also serves for starting the luminous discharge and for cooling the negative pole. To light the lamp, it is connected up to electric leads supplying the usual voltage, and the lamp tilted so that the mercury may flow from one pole to the other and start the discharge. When the discharge is once started, it will continue after the mercury has fallen back to its normal condition.



## Notes on Travel and Exploration.

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**Barotseland Frontier Award.**—The dispute between Great Britain and Portugal over the limits of their respective territories in Africa, after having troubled the relations of the two countries for over a decade, has been finally settled by the King of Italy's award in the Barotseland question referred to him as arbitrator in August, 1903. The original Portuguese claim for a continuous transcontinental belt was vigorously disputed by Lord Salisbury from the time it was enunciated in 1887, and was only modified after protracted negotiations, during which the pioneer forces of the two countries came into what was very nearly hostile collision. The Rhodesian and Nyassaland boundaries were settled by a treaty entered into on June 11th, 1891, but the frontier of North-west Rhodesia and Angola was defined by an ambiguous paragraph which left its delimitation open to dispute. The line was to run along the centre of the channel of the upper Zambesi from the Katima Rapids to the point where it reaches the territory of the Barotse kingdom. The question then arose what was the limit of the Barotse kingdom, as to which the two nations were divided in opinion. The Portuguese maintained that the territory effectively ruled by King Lewanika was all included within the provisional boundary already established, while the British claimed a more extensive region for him. Arbitration, as usual, resulted in a compromise, by which the boundary, as defined by the King of Italy, follows the Kwando river as far as the 22nd meridian, turns eastwards at the 13th parallel, and follows the 24th meridian as far as the boundary of the Congo Free State. Some of the tribes in the region thus assigned to Portugal undoubtedly pay tribute to Lewanika, but the award adduces as a reason for disregarding this fact that they have only

recognised his sovereignty since 1891, or that their subjection extends only to the payment of tribute. He cannot fail to feel aggrieved at the loss of subjects whom he was accustomed to regard as his own, but it is believed that he will be induced to acquiesce peaceably. The British sphere gains the more fertile portion of the disputed zone, but loses the head-waters of the Zambesi. It is hoped that the definition of the frontier may lead to the suppression of the slave trade, which, according to a report of Major Harding, existed down to a recent date in portions of the debateable land.

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**Irrigation in the United States.**—The great American desert, lying between the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific coast, has been largely reclaimed by artificial irrigation. Over 50,000 miles of canals, exclusive of the small ditches carrying water from the wells, have fertilised eight million acres of land, formerly arid, but now bearing crops worth annually 100 million dollars, while populous cities have sprung up where the wilderness has been transformed into a garden. But further projects, matured since 1902, will bring under cultivation another eight millions of acres by means of irrigation works already in process of construction, at an estimated cost of over three million sterling. Tenders have been received in addition for three new systems covering an aggregate of 180,000 acres in the States of California, Arizona, Montana and North Dakota, and seven other projects have been sanctioned for the expenditure of £1,800,000 in the States of Oregon, California, Montana, North Dakota, Washington and Idaho. In addition to desert irrigation, the coastal prairies of Texas and Louisiana have been transformed into productive rice-fields by a system of raised canals, into which water is pumped from the lower levels and then carried by gravity to the alluvial flats below. In parts of Florida the tobacco fields are artificially watered from overhead pipe-lines run over the frames of cheese cloth which protect the fields from the direct rays of the sun. A spraying attachment at regular intervals enables the water to be directed on the plants in the form of a fine mist when it is turned on in the evening. Irrigation by all these different methods has evidently been developed into an elaborate science suited to varieties of soils and climates.

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**Aborigines of South Africa.**—The Hottentots and Bushmen

were formerly regarded as the primitive peoples of South Africa, but Dr. Haddon, President of the Anthropological section of the British Association, referred in his opening address at Cape Town to an obscure race, who it is conjectured may be the remnant of the true aborigines. These are the Kattea, nicknamed by the Boers Vaalpens, from the dusty colour acquired by their bodies from creeping into holes in the ground. They live in the steppe region of the Northern Transvaal as far as the Crocodile River, and are called by the Zulus "Dogs" or "Vultures." Unlike the yellow-skinned Bushmen, they are almost pitch-black, and are even lower in the human scale, as they are cannibals who do not scruple to make a meal of the aged and infirm amongst them, an atrocity never perpetrated by the Bushmen. They approach the pygmies in diminutiveness, being no more than about four feet high, and have a language of which all that is known is that it is entirely different from that of either the Bushmen or Bantu. Their religious ideas, if any, are unknown, as the only intercourse carried on with them is that of barter transacted by signs. They obtain weapons in exchange for ostrich feathers, skins or ivory, and have no arts or industries. Their habitations consist of holes in the ground or rock shelters, but they have recently progressed so far as to construct some sort of hovels. Their social organization is not tribal, but consists of family groups of from thirty to fifty individuals under the rule of a head man, obtaining his position by personal qualities, not heredity. The speaker suggested that these aborigines might be allied to the dwarfs on the Nosop river, described by Anderson as of about the same height, with reddish-brown skin, no foreheads, and projecting mouths, and termed by the Masara Bushmen "monkeys, not men."

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**Administration of Southern Nigeria.**—An interesting address by Father McDermott, C.S.Sp., of the mission of Onitsha, is reported in the current number of the *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*. It is encouraging to note that he regards the British nation as the one designed by Providence to play the leading part in the civilization of Africa, as it is the one that shows the most conscientious desire to promote the welfare of the natives, even at the risk of incurring enormous sacrifices, as is exemplified in Southern Nigeria. "Great Britain," he says, "insists upon absolute and incorruptible integrity in all her officials in those distant protectorates; she insists upon the

impartial administration of justice; she encourages and maintains, as far as possible, the local traditions and the native laws and customs in all that concerns the rights of individuals and of property. She even entrusts to the native chiefs a certain independent part in the administration of the law. Actual slavery under any disguise is prohibited in British West Africa, and the sale or purchase of a human being is visited with severe punishment. On the other hand a system of serfdom of a semi-patriarchal character is maintained, according to which a chief may have a couple of hundred serfs or dependents, whom he is bound to support whenever work is lacking, but who on their part are bound to pay him a third of their earnings when they engage voluntarily in any trade or employment. They are free to marry, they are free to educate their children, but they are not free to leave their original master and take permanent service with another." The diffusion of education is exercising a great influence on the natives. The young men of the better class, sons of chiefs and princes, are emulous of advancement, and are studying shorthand and typewriting in the mission schools, or are even preparing for the Oxford University examinations so as to be qualified to become lawyers and doctors later on. In view of this movement, Father McDermott has founded an agricultural institute with the propagation of the cultivation of cotton as its especial purpose. The sons of chiefs gathered here from a radius of 100 to 200 miles, seeing the advantages of thus utilising their estates, will, he thinks, when they return home be better emissaries of this form of industry than all the white overseers that can be provided. The labour supply is plentiful, and the natives are keen to earn the smallest sum, but they require supervision in their tasks, though not flogging as in the days of slavery.

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**Native Religion in West Africa.**—Fetichism or Ju-ju worship is, according to Father McDermott, less purely materialistic than is generally believed, and he sees in it a system of propitiation of the Evil Principle whom the Africans, like the Gnostics and Manichaeans, believe to be the source of all the ills of the world. Their belief in a Supreme Being, although undoubted, is, on the other hand, dissociated from any form of worship, as they conceive of him as essentially good, and therefore in no need of propitiation. The various idols worshipped are but

forms of the maleficent power, whose intervention they dread at all moments, and of whom every object is a symbol and every living thing an embodiment. Their belief in the immortality of the soul prompts the human sacrifices which are so terrible a feature of their society, and which still continue to be practised in remote places with the greatest secrecy. The Egbo societies, powerful oath-bound associations, existing among the barbarous tribes on the Cross and Calabar rivers and up the left bank of the Niger, still perpetuate the old inhuman and degrading customs of cannibalism and human sacrifice, and these evils will only be eradicated with the suppression of the societies. The spread of Mohammedanism in West Africa is ascribed, not to conversion among the natives, but to immigration from the north of individual Mohammedans, whether as soldiers or traders. Although of assistance to the Government both in the development of trade and in furnishing recruits to the Hausa regiments, their influence on the native races is pernicious, and they are ready to practise slave-raiding on a small scale wherever practicable. Father McDermott utters a word of warning against the promiscuous distribution of the Old Testament, which, however well-intentioned on the part of religious societies, has undoubtedly contributed to strengthen and even propagate polygamy. Unable as yet to discriminate between the teaching of the Old and the New Law, the natives there find the sanction and consecration of a practice entirely consonant to their own customs and traditions.

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**South Victoria Land.**—Admiral Sir W. Wharton, in his interesting address to the Geographical section of the British Association, dwelt on the importance of the exploration of the Antarctic coast by Captain Scott and his companions. Our knowledge of this region had been previously limited to the discoveries of Sir James Clarke Ross, principally a mountain range rising to 15,000 feet and running north and south for a distance of at least 500 miles (now extended to 800); a shallow Antarctic sea, an active volcano, and the Great Ice Barrier, a sea-plain of ice 470 miles long and averaging 150 feet in height. The mountains have now been ascended, and beyond them was found a vast and featureless ice-sheeted plateau 9,000 feet above the sea, which traversed for 200 miles inland, showed no appearance of any break or change in its monotonous expanse.

The discharge shed by glaciers from this inland ice seemed comparatively insignificant, and the shrinkage of the ice barrier told the same tale of diminished supply. It was found to have retreated on an average 15 miles, and would, it was calculated, have totally disappeared in 1,000 years. Captain Scott travelled over it for 300 miles southward from its sea front, and saw no sign of its end. To the west it was bounded by a mountainous coast line rising to 15,000 feet. Captain Scott believes it to be afloat, not grounded as had been previously conjectured.

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## Notices of Books.

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**Forget-me-nots from many Gardens; or Thirty Days' Devotion to the Holy Souls.** Compiled by a member of the Ursuline Community, Sligo. London: R. and T. Washbourne. 1904.

**T**HIS little book is really devotion *for*, and not *to*, the Holy Souls. The compiler has gathered thoughts, meditations, prayers and stories from every side, and no doubt many readers will find her labours are full and edifying. Some of the stories are silly enough, and some of the indulgences are certainly apocryphal; for example, that which is asserted to be conceded to the members of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, of gaining 100 *years* and 100 quarantines by *simply carrying* the beads. There is no mention of this in the only authoritative list, the *Index Indulgentiarum*, published by Pope Leo XIII., August 30, 1899. This should be corrected without delay.

N.

**La Vie de Monseigneur Borderies, Evêque de Versailles.**  
Par MGR. DUPANLOUP. Paris: Ch. Douniol. 1905.

**T**HIS interesting life, we are told, was found complete among the papers of Bishop Dupanloup, which Mgr. Lagrange left behind him at the Grand Séminaire of Orleans. The work seems to have been put together during the early years of the episcopate of the great Bishop of Orleans, and there appears to be no discoverable reason why it was not published in his lifetime. This, at least, is what the present editors state—but the reader will perhaps suspect that it was kept back on account of the very strong Legitimist convictions of its subject, convictions which the writer apologises for in the course of the work. The career of Mgr. Borderies extended from the worst times of the Revolution, when the young Abbé had to flee for



his life, to two years after the accession of Louis Philippe. After the restoration he distinguished himself in Paris as a most holy and devoted priest, his principal work being the creation of a magnificent catechetical work at St. Thomas d'Aquin. He became Vicar-General of Paris in 1819, and was consecrated Bishop of Versailles in 1827. He died in 1832. Mgr. Dupanloup became acquainted with him apparently when he was Vicar-General. He considered that he owed "everything" to Mgr. Borderies, and that his affectionate kindness was the greatest grace that God had given to his youth. These pages afford a most touching realisation of the piety, the priestly devotion, and the extraordinary unction in speaking which distinguished this Bishop of the Restoration. The extracts from his letters and sermons are as good as anything we have of the period. This appreciative biography dwells on his success in the direction of souls, and, as might be expected, on his organisation of the work of the catechism. Mgr. Borderies was a French ecclesiastic of the old school. He could not imagine the possibility of any government for France except that of the "legitimate" Bourbon. He spent the first years of his Episcopate in composing a new Missal and Breviary for his diocese—a diocese recently formed out of fragments of six of the old dioceses of France. He selected, he wrote Collects, Lessons and Hymns, and achieved a liturgical monument which gave him no little satisfaction. He did not foresee that the wave which carried the "Roman" liturgy over the face of France would sweep away his cherished work in a few years. At the same time he was a well-read scholar, and a versifier, both in Latin and in French, of no mean order. Few readers will be aware that it is to Mgr. Borderies that we owe the words of the *Adeste Fideles*. This volume will be read with interest, not only for its direct subject, but also for the glimpses that it gives in great abundance of the history of the soul and heart of its writer, one of the greatest Bishops of the nineteenth century. N.

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**Vie du Vénérable Justin de Jacobis**, de la Congrégation de la Mission, premier Vicaire Apostolique de l'Abyssinie.  
Par M. DEMIMUID. Paris : Ch. Douniol. 1905.

**M**ONSIGNOR DEMIMUID, Director-General of the "Holy Infancy," here gives to the public another interesting biography of a saintly Lazarist, as interesting as his former volumes on the Blessed J. G. Perboyre and the Blessed

F. R. Clet. Justin de Jacobis, an Italian of the Basilicate, born in 1800, was sent on the Abyssinian mission in 1839, was consecrated Bishop by Cardinal Massaia in 1849, and died at his post in 1860. His "cause" was introduced by a resolution of the Congregation of Sacred Rites dated July 12th, 1904, and approved by the Sovereign Pontiff on the following day. There is little doubt that he will be beatified and canonised in due course, although he had not the privilege, enjoyed by his brothers in religion just named, of actually dying the death of a martyr. This biography presents the picture of a saintly priest devoured with the apostolic spirit, rejoicing in every kind of suffering and privation, and endowed with a peculiar gift of winning to Christ and the Church the people with whom he had to deal. The Christian history of Abyssinia—Mgr. Demimuid gives a very good sketch of it from the days of St. Frumentius downwards—is at once sad and encouraging: sad, because it shows a naturally Catholic people held in bondage for centuries by the very inadequate Christianity of the Monophysite heresy; and encouraging, because its Christianity, corrupted as it has been and is, has always kept a certain hold on Catholic doctrine of a distinct kind, and has always responded, as far as kings and wars would allow, to missionaries from the Holy See. Bishop de Jacobis had no difficulty in making way with the people as long as he was let alone by the ruling power. As it is, his life is a series of successful attempts at forming Catholic centres, interrupted by intervals of downright persecution. When the adventurer Kassa assumed the name of Theodore II. in 1855—it will be remembered that he died by his own hand at the assault of Magdala in 1868—he announced his intention of uniting all Abyssinia under one command in one religion. He did his best to destroy the Catholic mission, and Bishop de Jacobis, after a new imprisonment and much suffering, died under his privations in 1860. The Abyssinian mission still goes on. In Abyssinia proper there is now no Bishop, and only five or six Jesuits. But in the new Italian colony of Erythraea, which skirts Abyssinia to the East, there is a Prefect-Apostolic who resides at Keren. He has between fifty and sixty priests, most of whom, like himself, are Capuchins, and there are in the Prefecture some 8,000 Catholics out of a population of 190,000. There is also the Vicariate of the Galla country, which may be called Southern Abyssinia, founded by Cardinal Massaia, with a Vicar-Apostolic and about twenty priests. N.

**The Soul's Orbit, or Man's Journey to God.** Compiled, with additions, by M. D. Petre. London: Longmans. 1904.

AS far as this pretentious book is intelligible to the ordinary Catholic mind, it is an attempt to put into "superior" language the Christian view of man's destiny, our Lord's mission, and the soul's spiritual life. There is no very striking originality, but the style is somewhat laboured, probably because the ideas are intended to be uncommon and just a little daring. To say the truth, this treatise, although by a Catholic, seems to be an attempt to reduce Catholic teaching to the mind's purely subjective view of revealed truth, and Catholic obligation to a strictly subjective sense called "conscience." Our apprehension of God, we are told, consists in life and action. To love God is to follow that action which is most divine. Man loves God in acting divinely, nobly, excellently. To love one's neighbours means to live for the universal. The sentiments expressed by the Old Testament saints towards Almighty God were "the last vestiges of idolatry," from which Christ delivered us. By "putting on Christ"—that is, taking Him as our rule—we find God and find ourselves; these are but two aspects of one thing, to realise ourselves and realise God. As to the Person of Christ, we are told of occasions "when the conviction of His Divine Lordship had been brought home with a new supernatural vividness to His human consciousness"; of His experiencing "an unguarded moment of weariness"; expressions which, to say the least, should have been carefully qualified. As for the Church, her voice is the "collectively God-inspired conscience of the elect of humanity": "if she has authority over my beliefs . . . it is just that of conscience, of a more enlightened and experienced conscience than my own." If she has authority over my actions, "it is not coercive," "but suasive and spiritual"; if my intelligence and my moral sense are done violence to, her authority ceases; at least, this is the ideal the Catholic Church is struggling to realise. This kind of thing may, to some extent, be justified or explained; but it seems to point to opinions which it is undesirable to express plainly. There is a great deal more of the same kind of talk. The book will do no good either to Catholics or to conscientious seekers after faith. But neither, perhaps, will it do much harm, as it is not plain and pointed enough to be read for its own sake.

N.

**My Queen and My Mother.** By R. G. S. With preface by the Bishop of Salford. London: Art and Book Company. 8vo., pp. xv.-262. Price 4s. 6d. net. 1904.

**T**HIS volume has fittingly appeared at a time when the heart of the Catholic world has been warmed with enthusiasm in celebrating the Jubilee of the Definition of the Immaculate Conception. It consists of devout reflections upon each of the invocations in the Litany of Our Lady. A very pleasing feature of the book is that each meditation is preceded by the photogravure of some fresco or painting, famous perhaps, as the centre of devotion at a great shrine, or as coming from the brush of a celebrated artist. This will enable many to get an acquaintance with some of the art devoted to Our Lady. We wish the book every success.

F. E. O'H.

**Les Derniers Jours de Léon XIII. et le Conclave.** Par un Témoin. Paris: Lecoffre. Sm. 8vo, pp. 129. Price 1fr. 25c. 1904.

**T**HE first fifty pages of this interesting little book are devoted to the closing days in the life of the late Pope: the rest to the events of the Conclave and the election of Pius X.

It is not far from the truth to say that most Catholics knew Leo XIII. only through his encyclicals and acts as Pontiff. He was the Pope who looked out from his seclusion over the world with keen intellectual vision and understood the full meaning of human events; who foresaw their issue and gave warning before it came. He was as one apart not only by his office, but also by his gifts; and even those who had not been denied the privilege of conversing with him felt that they could scarcely claim human fellowship with the frail being before them. Hence the touches of human nature in this narrative, and the few stories from private life have a peculiar charm. Here is one: M. Benjamin Constant was permitted to paint the portrait of His Holiness. He took the likeness of the face, but found it impossible to complete the portrait at the Vatican. He therefore resolved the return to Paris with papal cassock and mantle wherewith to clothe a suitable model whom he knew at Montmartre. At the request of the Pope, the artist left the unfinished picture at the Vatican for inspection, the result of

which was the dictation of a note to the Secretary: "His Holiness would like a little less nose and a little more hair."

The description of the Conclave is full of interest, and in particular the account of the endeavour made by the Austrian Emperor, through the Cardinal Bishop of Cracow, to veto the election of Cardinal Rampolla to the papacy. At the end of the volume facsimiles of the voting papers used in the election are given; the method of voting is clearly explained, and the results of each vote taken are tabulated. We think a translation into English would greatly interest the public.

F. E. O'H.

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**Scientific Order and Law**: as traced by the method of Christ and conceived to be the Will of God. By JOHN COUTTS.  
London: National Hygienic Co., Ltd.

**J**UST when rationalism is making the most startling progress among the lower orders, there seems to be among intellectual men a growing dissatisfaction with the daylight of science. Carlyle and John Ruskin have done the work in England of voices in the wilderness, and now men seem to be turning to Christ: such at all events is the conviction of our author. "The fatal choice and set policy of men, to seek and to know both good and evil, have borne fatal results in past ages, and it is to be feared that they continue even to this day. Men seem to be in this position, that they do not understand that they lost a great and good inheritance when they forfeited the Edenic innocence; and they have gained the impression that the Babel tower, with its confusion, has after all proved to be for the honour and glory of mankind. If this is wrong and men awaken to realize the great truth that the honour and glory, the praise and blessing is due to God, by Christ, then it will not be very strange if there takes place a revulsion of feeling, a reversion of thought and a revolution in the actions of men." The period of pride is to be followed by a period of penitence, and science is now to awaken to the fact "that all true science is seeing in the light of Christ, even though scientists do not know that they have been working in the light of Christ."

After a lengthy introduction of forty-four pages, the author goes through the Bible, dividing it under the following headings: Creation and the Ten Generations; Egypt the Nation and the Desert; The Man, the Land and the Commonwealth; The Kingdom of God in the Prophets; The beginning of the New

Testament to 2 Corinthians; Galatians to Jude; Revelation. The whole comprises 520 pages of very close print, and we might add of very close thought—so close that the ordinary reader will hardly have the courage to persevere to the end; but in spite of the strain required by the deep thinking, the reward is great: the book teems with most profound and stimulating thought. The Catholic reader can hardly fail to notice a note of vagueness and a certain lack of simplicity that is looked for in treatment of even the deepest subjects; and of course one cannot accept the universality of belief proclaimed.

F. R.

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**Sous la Couronne d'Angleterre.** Par FIRMIN ROZ. Paris : Libraire Plon. Cr. 8vo., pp. 300. 1905.

**T**HIS little book consists of three sketches: "Ireland and her Destiny," "Impressions of Scotland," and "In Wales."

The writer is an enthusiastic follower of the movement of the end of the nineteenth century in favour of "nationality"; and he is, as a Frenchman, enthusiastic for the Celtic race. He expresses immense sympathy with the oppressed Celtic populations of which he writes. The Irish will perhaps be grateful, the Scotch and the Welsh will probably laugh, as they are not accustomed to be pitied. But it must be said that M. Firmin Roz is perfectly fair and friendly to the English. The book is worth reading if only for the charm of its style and the beautiful descriptions. The author is a shrewd observer, and his remarks are often interesting to show us to ourselves as we appear to the intelligent foreigner. He takes a rosy view of the future of Ireland. The same publisher has a whole list of works on the English and the Irish. It is a good sign that our neighbours are taking to study us scientifically, for this is more likely to promote intercourse and understanding than dislike.

J. C.

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**Sermons Preached in St. Edmund's College Chapel on Various Occasions.** Collected and arranged by EDWIN BURTON. London: Burns and Oates. 1904.

**"I**T has been . . . a very wise inspiration to gather together the words spoken in the College Chapel (of St. Edmund) on various memorable occasions during the . . . history of the College." Thus his Grace the Archbishop speaks

in the introduction which he has written to this book, and I reproduce these words here making them my own.

The Sermons, fourteen in number, follow each other in the chronological order of their delivery; they spread over a period of nearly sixty years, viz., from 1847 to 1904. Such sermons only we find embodied in this collection as commend themselves by their intrinsic value; and, indeed, all of them are excellent.

Six sermons out of the whole collection were preached on St. Edmund's day. Among the rest we find one discourse delivered on All Souls' day, two on Whitsunday, one at the centenary of the college (July 25, 1893,) in which we learn much of the history of the place; one at the centenary of St. Gregory the Great in 1894, two at the funerals of Bishop Weathers (1895) and Dr. Butler (1902), and last, but by no means least, the discourse delivered at the opening of the Fourth Provincial Synod of Westminster in 1873 by Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Ullathorne, O.S.B., in which this venerable prelate gives us in glowing language an exposition of the exalted state and dignity of the priesthood.

The pages of this book are full of useful matter, and no doubt they will be read by all into whose hands they fall with interest and profit. They naturally bear a message of special interest to the alumni—present and past—of the college. J. T.

**The Priest, his Character and Work.** By CANON KEATINGE.

Second Edition, revised. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. 1904. Pp. xviii.-329.

**T**HROUGH some unfortunate oversight the appearance of this remarkable book passed unnoticed in these pages, and since that time the public judgement has anticipated both the praise and the criticism that might have been offered. In the present issue the writer has availed himself of the suggestions that he has received from various quarters, and has subjected the volume to extensive revision. Amid the many-sided and complex conditions of the pastoral life there is room for differences of opinion as to what is possible and what is best under given circumstances. Canon Keatinge's view of the priest's life is just and encouraging. Were we to think of it in connection with ascetics we should qualify it as applied ascetics. It does not deal with the abstract or the ideal, but it applies an attainable ideal of spiritual and priestly conduct to the multifarious and often harassing circumstances of daily life.



The style of treatment is neither academical nor cloistral, but rather conversational, and above all things practical. The standard it displays is one that all would desire to reach; and yet the standard of priestly life set before the reader is much loftier than might appear on a superficial reading. To say that the book stands alone in our English ecclesiastical literature is merely to re-echo the verdict of all who have read it.

The secret of the success which has attended the book seems to lie in several circumstances. It is addressed to a definite and restricted class of readers. It deals with their daily troubles, difficulties, aims and perils. It is written by one who speaks with the weight of long and varied experience; and above all, it assumes no authority, it contains no rebuke, utters no hard saying, but from beginning to end uses only the language, the manner and the tone of a friend and a brother.

H. P.

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**Ecclesiasticus Hebraice:** Secundum Codices nuper repertos. Editit NORBERTUS PETERS. Friburgi: Herder. 1905. Pp. xvi.-163.

**I**N 1902 Dr. Peters edited the newly discovered Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus, trying to arrive at the genuine text by a mutual comparison of the different Hebrew codices, and by the use of the ancient versions. The result of his study he published as the Hebrew text, and with it a German translation. But he omitted to print the actual Hebrew as it was found in the codices. The present publication is to remedy that defect, for no edition of the recently discovered Hebrew has appeared from Catholic hands; whereas it is specially important for us, since we regard the Book of Ecclesiasticus not as deutero-canonical, but as protocanonical.

The codices from which the text is taken are four in number, all discovered in the genizah of Cairo: Codex A of the eleventh century; Codex B of the eleventh also; Codex C of the tenth or eleventh; and Codex D of still unknown age. In the edition before us the consonants are printed according to the codices. When any defect occurs in the original, or when emendations are made, brackets are used; so, too, changes in the vowel points are noted at the bottom of the page.

A Latin translation is placed to face the Hebrew. The translation is based as far as possible on the traditional Latin of the Church; and where this is not possible Dr. Peters tries to

follow St. Jerome's style. Moreover, as the vocabulary of Ecclesiasticus differs somewhat from that usually employed by Old Testament writers, a glossary of words not found elsewhere, or not found elsewhere in the same sense, is added.

The newly found Hebrew is interesting because not only does it differ materially from our traditional form of Ecclesiasticus, but also from the attempts to restore the Hebrew text of that book from the Greek made by such men as G. Margoliouth.

The Hebrew type is good, and we may recommend this edition to all Bible students who are acquainted with Hebrew.

J. A. H.

**The Church Historical Society.**—(1) *The Law of the Concordat*. Translated by L. G. Wickham Legg (pp. 63).  
(2) *An Old Catholic View of Confession*. By EDWARD HERZOG, D.D. Translated by G. C. Richards (pp. 59).  
London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

A PUBLICATION dealing with the Concordat is much to the point at the present time; especially if, as in the case before us, it deals with the question fairly and impartially. A great deal is made, and rightly, of the distinction between the Concordat and the organic articles; yet, perhaps, it is not very generally known in what they differ. The Concordat deals with the agreement between Pope Pius VII. and Napoleon; the organic articles are the further provisions which were added to those of the Concordat when it was brought before the French Legislature and passed by it into law. So that the Concordat binds the Pope and the French Government; the Concordat, plus the organic articles, or in other words, the French law of the Concordat, has no binding force on the Pope, though it may be a law of France. The only comment we have to make on this law is that the English and French conceptions of liberty of conscience seem quite different. The religious bodies in France are hardly able to move a step without permission of the government.

The second pamphlet is an answer to the Bishop of St. Gall, Dr. Egger's address entitled "Confession not a human invention." What struck us in Dr. Herzog's answer was that he assumes throughout the whole pamphlet that Catholics, when they say that "Penance" is of Divine institution, mean that it was instituted just as it is in our days. You almost expect to hear Dr. Herzog ask where were St. Alphonsus and Gury

and Ballerini in the first centuries? Can you point to any "confessionals" in the early centuries? Then it seems to us rather silly to argue that because only in the Fourth Council of Lateran, 1215, annual confession was prescribed, therefore it was not regarded as obligatory before. As well say that communion was not regarded as obligatory till ordered first on the three great feasts of the year. It is true both then for the first time became obligatory by ecclesiastical law.

To show the looseness of Dr. Herzog's methods, we give a short passage from his pamphlet. He is translating from Victor of Vita (fifth cent.), and says :—"Who in future will impose on us the performance of penance (*pœnitentiæ munus collaturi*) and by granting reconciliation release (*reconciliationis indulgentia soluturi*) those who are entangled in the bonds of sin?" Of course to translate "conferre" as equal to "to impose," is just what suits Dr. Herzog's argument, because he wants to show that "pœnitentia" simply means "a penance" (as satisfaction), hence *pœnitentiæ munus collaturi*—to impose a penance. But has the verb "conferre" that meaning? Not in the dictionary. Surely "to bestow" is the right meaning. And if "to bestow," how can "munus" mean "the performance," not rather the favour? Then will "pœnitentia" simply mean "a penance?"

We have not compared the German and English, so that we do not know to whom this inaccuracy is due.

J. A. H.

**Biblische Zeitschrift.** Zweiter Jahrgang. Heft I., III., IV. III. Jahrgang. Heft I., II. Herder : Freiburg im Breisgau.

THE large output of biblical works amongst the Catholics of Germany testifies to the scholarship possessed by the Church in that country and to the intelligent interest taken by it in the critical science of the day. The publication which we are noticing here would alone suffice to show that German scholarship is abreast of the latest results in biblical science. It would indeed be impossible, nor do we mean to try, to enter upon a discussion of the articles contained in the numbers of the periodical we bring before the reader. We do not take that to be the object of noticing them in this review. It is rather to call attention to the *Zeitschrift* and to recommend it heartily to such of our readers as know German.

There is an appreciative review in the first number for 1905 by Dr. Schanz of Father de Hummelauer's pamphlet on inspira-

tion published in Freiburg in 1904. As instances of the kind of subjects taken up by the writers, we may mention among articles in the same number one on the "New Exegetical Writings of St. Hippolytus," another on "The supposed influx of Greek Philosophy into the Book of Ecclesiastes," and one entitled "The Greatest Miracle of Jesus."

It may not be always an easy matter to keep pace with German biblical publications. By taking in the periodical we are calling attention to, we are kept informed as to them by the appreciations of competent scholars, writing from a Catholic standpoint.

J. A. H.

**A Calendar of Scottish Saints.** By DOM M. BARRATT, O.S.B., Fort Augustus. Pp. 180. Price 6d.

THIS is a small, handy and cheap publication. It has no pretention to be complete as to the list of saints named or as to the treatment of their lives; but is confined to those who appear prominently in the records handed down, or in the names of places which bear witness to them. The chief sources which have been used are the *Breviary of Aberdeen*, Dr. Ikene's *Celtic Scotland*, Dr. Forbes' *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, and *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*.

Canon O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints*, and Cardinal Moran's *Irish Saints in Great Britain* have also been used; and, indeed, we could not help being struck with the idea, as we read through the volume, that it might also have been not inappropriately called "A Calendar of Irish Saints."

To many, especially Scottish Catholics, this little volume will be acceptable, as giving them some information about the holy men and women who laboured for their country in the past. An additional attraction is the reasonable price at which it may be had. We wish it every success.

J. A. H.

**The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers.** By a Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1905. 8vo, pp. viii.-144. Cloth, price 6s. net.

OUR library of scriptural literature is all the richer for this careful study of an old problem. The book is the joint product of a group of Oxford professors nominated by the Society of Historical Theology. The object of the workers has

been to determine, as far as might be possible, the origin of certain passages in the early Fathers. The writings studied are the Epistle of Barnabas, the Didache, the First Epistle of St. Clement of Rome, the Epistles of St. Ignatius Martyr, the Epistle of St. Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Second Epistle of St. Clement. To each member of a Committee appointed by the Society one of the above texts was assigned for his particular examination. The manner in which the plan has been brought to its fulfilment cannot be better described than in the words of the preface :

"In the execution of the foregoing plan, books were in the first instance allotted to the several members of the Committee, in order that each might make a preliminary list of passages, with his own judgements and comments. These were carefully revised, passage by passage, at meetings of the Committee. They were then arranged in what was intended to be their permanent form. Finally, they were once more revised by the Committee ; and in many cases previous judgements were again brought under consideration." (p. v.)

The separate studies have been completed with scholarly finish and conscientious exactness. Learning and research are nowhere paraded, but everywhere implied. The merit of the book is its intense specialization. The obscurities and doubtfulness of many of the references in these early Christian documents have, of course, long been known to the learned, and this effort to clear up uncertainties deserves all praise. The different writers have showed that the books in question frequently and beyond all reasonable doubt quote passages from the New Testament, especially the Acts and the Epistles. With regard to the Gospels, the common opinion of the learned will substantially endorse the bulk of their conclusions, but not a few will consider that the hesitation of the writer has in some cases reached a form of over scrupulosity. Perhaps the treatment of a well-known passage from the Epistle of St. Clement xiii., No. 1f. (referring presumably to Matthew v. 7, etc.), may be given as a sample of method, carefulness and results. Only the final summary, however, can be quoted :

"The Committee concludes that in the circumstances it is impossible to say with any confidence what is the source of Clement's quotations. It may be urged that they represent an inaccurate quotation of Matthew and Luke made from memory, but the recurrence in Polycarp of the phrase marked 1, and in Polycarp, Didasc., and Macarius of that marked 2, makes this

less probable. On the other hand, the fact that the series of phrases as it is found in Polycarp and the Didasc. is incomplete, and not in the same order as in Clem. Rom., seems to show that there is no one documentary source common to all these writers" (p. 61).

The distinct and constant reference to the Catachesis included in the Synoptic tradition is an attention we would desire to commend. Satisfactory, and indeed excellent in its way as is this collection of essays, it suggests further questions, such as : what is the value, extent and content of this Synoptic tradition? and when the Didache apparently quotes Matthew with such frequency, what solid ground is there for the conjecture that it is not quoting Matthew, but some unknown work, or some Apocryphal Gospel? Still, notwithstanding passages here and there about which the Committee themselves are probably but in feeble agreement, and notwithstanding a phenomenal modesty of judgement, the result is valuable, and will, we may trust, stimulate others to clear up some of the more important points left undecided by the writers.

H. P.

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**The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect ;** otherwise called Memphitic or Bohairic. Vols. III. and IV. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1905.

**A**LTHOUGH no editor's name appears on the title page, it is well known that the concluding portion of the Coptic New Testament is from the same hand that gave us the Gospels some half dozen years ago, and that the entire work is due to the industry and zeal of the Rev. G. Horner. We noticed at some length Mr. Horner's previous volumes, and therefore we may deal more briefly with these new ones. There were in early Christian times at least three kindred dialects of Coptic spoken in Egypt, and each had its own translation of the New Testament writings. What Mr. Horner has given us is the first and probably the final critical edition of the complete New Testament in the Bohairic dialect, spoken in Northern Egypt, in the neighbourhood around Alexandria. The present instalment contains, following the order of the Coptic Church, the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, the Acts and the Apocalypse. The text is not a constructed one, but that of the MS. which the editor considers the best, the variants of the other MSS. being supplied in a critical apparatus. Anyone who has had experience

of the laborious and trying work of collating MSS. will appreciate what it means to have collated St. Paul's Epistles in nineteen MSS., the Catholic Epistles and the Acts in thirteen, and the Apocalypse in eleven; and the patience and self-denial demanded by so great a task are made only the more admirable by the fact that no startling, or even very new, results have been obtained; for Mr. Horner confesses that his work "will not seriously affect the evidence which the version affords for the criticism of the Greek text." However, the assurance that this is the case is no mean gain, and biblical students now for the first time have in their hands a text of the Bohairic New Testament on which they may rely, a number of the oldest and best of the known MSS. in Egypt and out of it having been employed. As is already known, the main interest of the version lies in its being the chief subsidiary witness of the type of Greek text found in the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS., and adopted by Westcott and Hort as the purest tradition of the text. The Bohairic version used to be assigned to the second century; but the tendency of recent investigations has been to postpone it to the fourth, or even the fifth, century. The text is accompanied by a quite, and at times even painfully, literal translation into English: but the purpose in view is to enable students who do not know Coptic to form their own judgement as to the evidence of the version in each case. Though nothing is said about it, we hope that the volume of critical and textual discussions adumbrated in the former volumes has not been lost sight of. In any case, the four volumes of Mr. Horner's work will henceforth form a necessary part of the equipment of every serious student of the New Testament text. E. C. B.

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**The Angel of Syon:** The Life and Martyrdom of Blessed Richard Reynolds. By Dom ADAM HAMILTON, O.S.B. London: Sands and Co. 1905.

**I**N presenting to the public this interesting monograph, Dom Hamilton has collected together a great deal of information which has hitherto been scattered. The account of the trial and martyrdom is fully given in Channey's well-known narrative. Dom Hamilton has found many particulars and indications relating to the Blessed Martyr's birth and his Cambridge life, and to his intercourse with the eminent men of his day. Except, however, that he was a learned man, an



eminent preacher, and "of an angelic countenance," there is not much that gives any vivid idea of his personality. We have here the particulars of the foundation of Syon House, Isleworth, by Henry V., some account of St. Brigit of Sweden, and the story of the exile and wanderings of the Syon nuns till their settlement at Chudleigh in 1887. Then come incidental sketches of the Holy Maid of Kent, and of Margaret, Countess of Richmond. Dom Hamilton also prints, as an appendix, a hitherto unedited paper by Father Parsons—a preface to a chronicle of the Syon Sisterhood which is still in their archives, but which, we may hope, will one day see the light. The letter of the chaplain, Dr. Starkey, who was sent to argue with the holy confessor in prison, should have been given without abridgment, as Challoner has it. One passage is surely wrongly transcribed: "Reynolds, whom I have heard of you many times praised," should be "whom I have heard you many times praise" (p. 67). It would have been interesting to hear what became of Abbess Walford and the nine sisters who left Lisbon in 1809, taking with them "the most valuable paintings and manuscripts." Perhaps, also, it would have been as well to explain the system of "double" monasteries of the Rule of St. Brigit. The book is plentifully illustrated, and well got up, and there is a useful index. Since it was published the original rescript of Cardinal Pole, dated Greenwich, March 1, 1557, restoring the Bridgettine Monastery at Shene, has come to light, and will have to be included in future editions. N.

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**Le Bienheureux Curé d'Ars.** Par JOSEPH VIANEY. "Les Saints." Paris: Lecoffre. 1905.

**Pensées Choisies du Ven. Curé d'Ars.** Paris: Douniol. 1905.

**Life of the Blessed Curé d'Ars.** From the French of the Abbé A. MONNIN. Preface by Cardinal Manning. London: Burns and Oates.

OF these works the first only is new. It is a very interesting study of the newly beatified priest by a member of his own family. It presents the reader with a sober and sympathetic narrative of the holy man's life and work. Some of the somewhat "legendary" matter of the Abbé Monnin's biography disappears, or is stated in its due perspective.

When he was taken as a conscript in 1809, he escaped from his company and lay in hiding for several months in the Cevennes. Some writers are evidently embarrassed to explain how it is that he "deserted." It is certain, however, that Napoleon had no right, in the eyes of the Church, to order the recruitment of students of the seminaries. Be that as it may, the Abbé Monnin cuts the knot by bringing in miraculous intervention. M. Vianey, in these pages, gives a simple explanation of how it all happened, Jean-Baptiste Vianney broke down on the march. Forced by his illness to remain behind, he found himself among a population which hated the Empire and thought it no crime, but the contrary, to avoid Napoleon's conscription. Here he remained till an arrangement was finally made by which his service in the army was dispensed with. A good account is given of the work of the Curé d'Ars in his parish, of the *Providence* and the trials which it brought him, of the marvels of the "pilgrimage," with its conversions and vocations, as well as of the holy man's interior and exterior life and his addresses and sayings. It is notable that this biographer insists explicitly on the reality of the diabolical assaults to which the Blessed Jean Baptiste was subject for five and thirty years.

The English life named above is a reprint. Although it must now be corrected in a few details, it remains a useful and well-written record of a holy and wonderful career. Cardinal Manning, in the preface, remarks of the Blessed Vianney that "in learning" he "hardly complied with the conditions required for Holy Orders." It is true that he had great difficulty in learning Latin and philosophy. But it seems certain that his examiners were very exacting. The traditions of the dioceses of Lyons and of Belley required a much more elaborate course of theology and philosophy than we are accustomed to in this country. The holy Curé d'Ars if he had been presented for orders here would have been ordained without hesitation. But in France he was considered doubtful, and put back, and made to go on studying, even after his ordination. He was by no means dull or stupid naturally. It was because he began his studies so late that he found it difficult to learn, coming, as he did, from field-work and a peasant's home.

N.

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**Saint Odon (879-942).** Par Dom DU BOURG, Prieur de Sainte Marie. "Les Saints." Paris : Victor Lecoffre. 1905.

IN the history of the revival of monasticism in France, after the great disturbance of the Northmen, there are no names that stand out more distinctly than those of St. Odo and of Cluny. Dom du Bourg, in his exile, has devoted himself to the production of a modern life of this great founder, and the result is worthy of the series in which it appears. He has taken as a groundwork the *Vita S. Odonis*, by the monk who was the saint's intimate disciple and companion, John the Italian, as he is called. Some readers may think that he should have been a little more severe with his authority. But the book gives a good idea of St. Odo, his times, his travels, and his zeal for reform, even if it be somewhat less hard-headed and more sentimental than one could wish. What we most miss, perhaps, is a study of the Cluniac system—a system which flourished so marvellously for two centuries, and which decayed or broke up so conspicuously after that. Dom du Bourg states that St. Odo was remarkable for his devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. He represents him, on one occasion, as lying prostrate "before the tabernacle" (p. 93). It would be interesting to know the precise authority for the use of such a phrase. The Holy Eucharist was reserved in Cluniac Churches in some kind of a chest or wooden coffer. But if there is any proof that devout persons in the tenth century went to pray where it was reserved any more than they would in the Church itself, or near the altar, it would be interesting to have details. When King Alfred is related to have made long prayers secretly in the church by night, and when we hear the same of St. Wulstan, are we to understand that they, in our modern way, spent their time "before the Blessed Sacrament"? N.

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**Les Seize Carmélites de Compiègne.** Par M. VICTOR PIERRE. "Les Saints." Paris : Victor Lecoffre.

THE sixteen Carmelite Sisters of Compiègne, who were guillotined at Paris on July 17, 1794, have been the subject of more than one book or narrative. But the recent admission of the "cause" of their beatification by the late Pope (December 16, 1902) has revived the interest of their striking story. The present volume, by M. Victor Pierre, a well-known historical writer—who, it is sad to relate, died as it was passing

through the press—is a precise, authoritative, and most edifying statement of all that is known of them, whether as a community or individually. As a piece of hagiography, the book is perhaps too replete with details not bearing directly upon the virtues or sufferings of the holy nuns; but as a sketch of the revolutionary period which immediately preceded the fall of Robespierre it is most valuable and interesting. We first see the holy community leaving their life of seclusion and devotion. With the first months of 1790 comes the decree of the National Assembly, which, under pretence of finding out whether any nuns are detained against their will, shows unmistakably that the religious life in France is doomed to extinction. From that date till the final expulsion the Carmelites were never left alone. Yet it is touching to see them celebrating, in the summer of 1791, the Beatification of their holy foundress, B. Marie de l'Incarnation (Madame Acarie). A year later, on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 1792, they were driven out of their home at Compiègne. For about two years they lived, in three groups, in hired houses in the town. But in June, 1794, they were all arrested and lodged as prisoners in the disused Monastery of the Visitation, where they found some twenty-one English Benedictine nuns from Cambrai, who had been imprisoned in the same house about nine months previously. Within a month they were transported to the Conciergerie at Paris, tried before the Revolutionary Tribunal on July 17, and guillotined on the evening of the same day on the Place du Trône. There can be little doubt that they will be Beatified as martyrs, for they were condemned as "fanatics," which, in the revolutionary dialect, meant Catholics. It is curious to note that the community in 1791 had taken the oath "of liberty and equality"—not the schismatical oath of 1790. They were afterwards much disturbed at having yielded to this extent—the more so as some of the Bishops and others considered even this declaration to be unlawful. They all retracted in the bravest and most public fashion. This saintly band of virgin martyrs is connected in a very touching way with the English Benedictine community of Stanbrook. As stated above, the Cambrai Benedictines (who are historically the same body as those of Stanbrook) were imprisoned in the same monastery at Compiègne as the Holy Carmelites. When the latter were hurriedly dragged off to Paris they had to leave a large part of their wearing apparel behind them. The Bene-

dictines, who were only saved from the guillotine themselves by the downfall of Robespierre, were offered some of this clothing. As they were terribly destitute they accepted it; and when the news of the martyrdom came they naturally began to look upon every article as a relic. Some of it has gone back to Carmel, but there is a portion still at Stanbrook, where also is kept the narrative of Dame Parkington, in which are many precious details which have been used in the process.

N.

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**La Sainte Vierge.** Par RENÉ-MARIE DE LA BROISE. "Les Saints." Paris: V. Lecoffre. 1904.

THIS admirable series of sacred biographies would never be complete unless it included a life of our Blessed Lady. The one now before us seems to be exactly what the instructed Catholic requires, and we may hope that it will be speedily translated into English. It is perfectly Catholic, orthodox and pious, and at the same time quite free from the historical laxity, and the unauthorized sentiment of some "lives" of the blessed Mother of God that we know of. In the biography proper the writer, whilst relying on the New Testament, has by no means neglected the early fathers and the apocryphal gospels. It is the part of the skilful historian to treat what are called "legends" with respect, because it stands to reason that a legend, especially when we find it in Church history, has not been wholly invented in cold blood by a romancer, but is the expansion or the unconscious manipulation of a real fact. It is well known that there is in existence, with regard to our Lady, a considerable body of legend, some of it very ancient indeed. M. de la Broise, however, has used it with the greatest sobriety. In a similar spirit, whilst amplifying with instructive comment the several notices in the New Testament, he is careful never to abuse that "must have been" which is so dear to the sentimental school of history. The various aspects of our Lady's earthly life—her pedigree, her name, her place of birth, her espousal to St. Joseph, her outward relations of our Lord, and her life after the Ascension—are described with the devout reverence of one who is familiar with Catholic piety. The writer also treats with brevity, but with precision, her most holy soul and her interior life, and her portion and part in the Incarnation of Christ and in the redemption of man.

N.

**La Vie Spirituelle.** Par le CHANOINE TOUBLAN. 2 vols.  
Paris : P. Lethielleux.

**T**HIS is a methodical exposition, in one hundred and thirty-seven conferences, of the spiritual life in all its details—the purification of the soul, progress in virtue, the theological and moral virtues, the means of sanctification, etc. It is marked by great clearness, and is scientific rather than rhetorical or affective. It will be found very useful by priests and religious superiors for instructions and conferences. There are numerous references to the sayings of the saints and their examples. A little verification of such references would have done the book no harm. The anecdote related of “Thomas Morus” (i., p. 266) makes the reader suspect that the writer has simply swept into his book the commonplaces of spiritual manuals. No such dialogue between More and his wife is to be found in any authentic history; his wife’s name was not “Louise” but “Alice”; and why should he not have been duly called the “Blessed Thomas More”?

N.

**Dictionary of the Bible : Extra Volume.** Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1904.

**T**HIS supplementary volume of Hasting’s *Dictionary of the Bible* contains over 700 pages of articles and 200 pages of indexes. The articles are only thirty-seven in number, so that they are of considerable magnitude: and they deal with subjects necessary or useful for the illustration of the Bible, but which could hardly have found a place in the Dictionary proper. The longest article by far is that by Prof. Kautsch, of Halle, on the “Religion of Israel”; it is, in fact, a great monograph of 120 closely printed quarto pages, dealing exhaustively, yet succinctly, with the whole range of Old Testament theology, and it cost the author two years of steady, hard work. It is of quite extraordinary value as giving the actual state of advanced critical opinion on the theological as distinguished from, or rather as resulting from, the textual side of Old Testament study. The author, however, exercises his own judgement at every step, and freely criticises and departs from the views of his compeers, so that we have here the impressions left on the mind of a highly competent and independent scholar, after an assiduous study and comparison of the great mass of modern literature and

controversy over the whole field; and these impressions are all the more interesting in that they do not emanate from any orthodox circle. It will be of interest to record a few of the chief positions arrived at by Kautsch. He holds that there is no good reason for supposing the existence among the Israelites in pre-Mosaic times of any Totemism, or Ancestor Worship, or Polytheism, properly so-called, though he thinks there are traces of Polydemonism, or the cultus of lower spirits, in various localities: "all attempts to relegate the person of Moses to the realm of myth have quite properly been abandoned"; it is impossible to resist the evidence that Moses had a real and unique revelation and mission from God. The reality also of the Divine inspiration of the prophets is affirmed. Such affirmations are made all the more striking by the strongly negative attitude of the article. There are also highly interesting discussions on Sheol, on the Messianic prophecies, and on many other points of Israelitish religion and theology. Hardly less interesting are the articles on the Religions of Babylon and Assyria, of Egypt, and of Greece. We have from Dr. Murray a careful and elaborate account of the "Textual Criticism of the New Testament"; it is an able defence of the critical methods and conclusions of Westcott and Hort, and of their text of the New Testament. We have not observed, however, any recognition of a fact which surely is of much importance, viz., that continental scholars do not commonly share Westcott and Hort's views as to the almost final authority of the Vatican Uncial B. A somewhat kindred article is that on the "Sermon on the Mount," which is a weighty contribution to a difficult side of the Synoptic problem. These two articles cannot but be of assistance to any whose work calls on them to battle with problems of textual criticism. The article on the "English Versions" recognises the reality of the difficulties in regard to the Wyclifite translation of the Bible which called forth Abbot Gasquet's "bold paradox," which, though "ingeniously and forcibly defended," the writer does not accept. The history of doctrine is represented by such contributions as "Development of Doctrine in the Apocryphal Period," "Trinity," "Revelation"; early Christian literature by "Agrapha," "Apocryphal Gospels," "Didache," "Diatesseron"; Jewish literature by "Philo," "Josephus," and "Talmud"; and patristics by "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles." The last-named article, by Mr. C. H. Turner, runs to close on ninety



pages, and contains a vast body of information which, we believe, has never before been brought together.

The five indexes occupy 200 pages, covering the whole five volumes; they have been compiled with extraordinary care, and render accessible all the contents of the Dictionary with a minimum expenditure of the student's time.

In closing our notice of the final volume of this great undertaking, we must offer our congratulations to the editors and publishers alike on the completion of so grand a monument of English-speaking scholarship—English and American—for English it has substantially remained, in spite of the presence of a limited number of articles by German scholars; English it is in origin and in spirit, for it exhibits predominantly that characteristic good sense and sobriety of judgement which should be the specifically English contribution to the progress of learning.

E. C. B.

**Die Bücher Samuels:** übersetzt und erklärt. Von Dr. P. NIVARD SCHLÖGL, O. Cist. Vienna: Mayer, 1904.

THIS volume forms one of a series of Catholic commentaries on the Old Testament, edited by Prof. Schäfer, of Vienna, and a body of assistant editors, including Prof. Vetter, of Tübingen. An introduction of eight pages supplies elementary information on the two Books of Samuel (I. and II. Kings); Dr. Schlögl shows that in Book II. the chronological sequence of events has been gravely disturbed. In regard to the sources of the text, he holds that the body of the double book is an extract from a more extended history. With this has been interwoven, not very skilfully, a separate history of David's career, inserted as a block (Book I., c. xxiii. 15, to c. xxvi. 25), thus accounting for some of the contradictions in the narrative. The editor who effected this junction of texts also made the alterations in the order, already referred to. These are the only concessions which the writer makes to the higher criticism, and his categorical statement that the Books of Samuel afford no ground for the distinguishing of sources in the sense of "destructive criticism" might easily be understood as implying that such is the common verdict of the well-known scholars to whose commentaries he makes reference. But this is far from the case; there is, in fact, considerable unanimity among the higher critics, who hold that it is easy to break up the whole of the text into two ground-documents, alternating throughout, even

in the section distinguished by Schlögl as an inserted fragment, and to trace the handiwork of at least two redactors. In the preface, however, Dr. Schlögl emphatically points that such problems regarding sources of the text do not touch on the question of inspiration.

The body of the book contains the text in two German translations, one from the Latin vulgate, the other from the Hebrew. On each page the text is accompanied by exegetical notes, partly historical, partly philological—the latter largely concerned with the Hebrew text. It speaks highly for the condition of biblical studies in Catholic Germany that such a commentary can be published, and that the writer considers it suitable for the educated laity.

E. C. B.

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**Der Zweite Brief des Apostelfürsten Petrus.** Von Dr. Theol. KARL HENKEL. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1904.

THIS number of the *Biblische Studien* was a doctorate-dissertation at the Catholic University at Freiburg in Switzerland. The author, Dr. Henkel, does not disguise the fact that in regard to canonicity and authenticity the Second Epistle of St. Peter is encompassed with greater historical and literary difficulties than any other New Testament writing. The great majority of non-Catholic critics place it in the second century, and consequently deny that St. Peter wrote it. A few, however, and some of considerable eminence, notably Spitta and Th. Zahn, defend his authorship. Dr. Henkel divides his discussion into two theses: (a) the Epistle belongs to the Apostolic Age; and (b) the author was St. Peter. Under (a) he contends that the doctrine and range of ideas of the Epistle, and the errors combated, all indicate the Apostolic Age, and that it is impossible to prove that the author displays knowledge of any book written after the Apostolic Age. The treatment of this last point must be pronounced most unsatisfactory, inasmuch as the parallels between the Epistle and, e.g., the apocryphal "Apocalypse of Peter" are not pointed out, so that the reader has not before him, as he has a right to expect in such a treatise, the materials necessary for controlling the author's conclusions. In the second place (b) is considered the evidence for St. Peter's authorship supplied by the Epistle itself and by other New Testament writings; lastly, is considered the evidence of the

use of the Epistle by writers up to the end of the fourth century, when its canonicity came to be commonly recognised. Here our author shows himself more optimistic, but less complete and thorough, than is Dr. Chase in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, an article apparently not known to Dr. Henkel. Our verdict on this study must be: painstaking and meritorious, but not first-rate.

E. C. B.

**The Age of Marie Antoinette.** By CHARLES NEWTON SCOTT. Revised Edition. London: The Leadenhall Press. 1905.

IF matter were invariably paramount over manner, this erudite little volume would be certain of a large success. It is literally crammed with learning, and those who have the courage to plough through its somewhat stodgy pages will have accumulated a store of useful information concerning a period that has been hitherto very inadequately treated. It is curious, by the way (page 12), to find Carthusians and Trappists admired in the same breath with the Society of Friends and the Moravian Brethren; and we must demur as to "the sound and high ideal of morality" to which "innumerable Jansenists" witnessed. The index is thoroughly satisfactory.

J. M. S.

**Fleurs de Lis: A Tale of Toulouse.** By MARGARET E. MERRIMAN. Barnet: St. Andrew's Press. 1904.

WE welcome this charming story the more cordially inasmuch as it is of the kind so greatly needed—a wholesome, attractive, and stirring tale, suitable for young people. That the subject is historical and that a saint is its central figure should prove an additional advantage, since the author has been careful to surround her characters with the right atmosphere and local colour. Her lovely cameo of the youthful St. Louis of Toulouse is as graceful and touching as it is true and real.

J. M. S.

**Au temps de la Pucelle.** Par MARIUS SEPET. Paris: Charles Douniol.

THE volume before us is an interesting historical account of the times of the wars between England and France during the reigns of Charles VI. and Charles VII., and of our Henry V. and the early years of Henry VI.

According to M. Sepet's account, nothing could equal the disorganisation of France; partly owing to the jealousies existing between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, partly on account of the arbitrary and violent method of government adopted by both parties. It was but natural that thus disunited France was able to make no head against the arms of England.

We are given a chapter on the English domination in Paris. Violence is said to have ruled. But, it is obvious to ask, how could any other method have succeeded, seeing that the Parisians had for years been governed only in that way?

We cannot say with truth that we attach too much importance to the gloomy picture placed before us. In the preface our author tells us that "*cet ouvrage n'est pas un livre de critique ou même d'erudition, mais de narration et, s'il était possible, de peinture historique.*" Honestly, we distrust such words. History can only be written by the severest criticism. If we do not try our sources in the most searching way, our historical edifice may be built on clay.

The book contains interesting chapters on the manners and customs of those times, and on the stage.

We are left outside of Orleans just as Joan d'Arc is going to make her appearance.

J. A. H.

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**Socialism and Christianity.** By the Right Rev. WM. STANG, D.D., Bishop of Fall River. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, printers to the Holy Apostolic See. 1905. 4s. net.

**T**HIS volume of about two hundred pages contains a popular but still very forcible criticism of the Socialistic errors of the present day. It is by no means an unmeasured criticism, for a due share of the blame is laid on the shoulders of those who, by grinding the faces of the poor, naturally drive them to revolutionary means of redress. In the supernatural order the remedy is in religion; in the natural it will be found, to a great extent at least, in aiding and encouraging labourers to become owners. A few lines from the chapter on "The Catholic Movement in behalf of Social Reform" will show the author's style and his opinion of the responsibility of Protestantism for Socialism: "Protestantism has completely broken up the symmetrical structure of mediæval society, with its

Catholic achievements for the welfare of the people. The ghost of the so-called Reformation is haunting the ruins of the former social order—an order of peace and prosperity. Will the Catholic Church abandon these ruins, and simply sit down, clasping her arms in hopeless agony? Will she wash her hands and say, 'I am not responsible for the havoc and desolation; I care not for the consequences'? The Church breathes the spirit of charity of her Divine Founder. . . . She knows no discouragement because she knows no failure. After an exaggerated individualism and an insane liberalism—both children of the Protestant heresy—had done their deadly work, and had plunged the poor labourer into deeper misery and desperation, the Church appeared again on the ghastly scene in the nineteenth century, and began with the removal of the *débris* of shattered walls and broken arches, once essential parts of a glorious mansion which the ages of faith had raised. The Catholic Church knows no lasting winter; she is ever sure that the spring will come again, when she may resume her work of reconstruction." The false theories in modern life on Education, Equality, and Liberty are well described, the true idea of the equality of man is graphically contrasted with the absurd and impossible notion put forward by the Socialists. In the last paragraph of the chapter on "A Happy Home" we find that which may shame others besides Americans. It speaks of a "slaughter more cruel than that of Herod . . . for . . . it sends children unbaptized into eternity, and brings about, as the sturdy President terms it, 'race suicide.'" The book is neatly got up, but surely the price should have been 2s. 6d. rather than 4s.

D. I.

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**From Doubt to Faith.** By Rev. F. Tournebise, S.J. Freiburg: B. Herder. 1904.

IT seems to us somewhat doubtful whether it was really worth while to translate—or adapt, as the title-page has it—this little book of eighty-nine pages from the original French. The introduction tells us that it is "addressed to disturbed and tempted souls; to minds afflicted with the torments of doubt; to all those, in fine, who, coming in contact with Catholic teaching, complain that they have never received the gift of faith, or seem to regret having lost it."

It may do something to steady the believer who is assailed by

doubts against faith, it may show him how he can the better repel or overcome them ; but we cannot believe that it will ever be the means of converting an unbeliever, or retrieving faith that has been lost. Its doctrine, undoubtedly, is sound and wholesome, but it has an appearance of superficiality that would not attract a thinker, while the method of exposition savours too much of the scholastic to be a recommendation to the ordinary Agnostic.

It would have been well, too, if the Rev. J. M. Leleu, the translator, having once decided to adapt it from the French, had done his work more efficiently. What can be said of the following sentence : " If the facility attaining to faith, on which depends our eternal future, were to be refuted (*sic*) according to intellectual acumen, talent, genius, or science, and not by honesty of soul or the endeavour to become better, would not God seem to prefer intellectual to moral culture : and this would be really shocking to us " ? Similar examples of quaint Franco-American English abound.

T. W.

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**The Science of the Spiritual Life :** According to the Spiritual Exercises. By FATHER CLARE, S.J. Third edition. Enlarged. Large Octavo. Pp. 640. Art and Book Co. Price 7s. 6d.

S. IGNATIUS wrote the *Spiritual Exercises* in his retreat at Manresa shortly after his conversion and before entering upon his long course of studies, thus illustrating the maxim of his favourite author : " I am He who in an instant elevate an humble mind to comprehend more reasons of the eternal truth than could be acquired by ten years' study in the schools." Hence it is to be expected that there should be found therein " certain things hard to be understood " which the unwary may wrest to their own destruction. It is for this reason that the Exercises require an instructor imbued with the traditions of the society founded by S. Ignatius.

This is not the first attempt to render the Exercises accessible to the ordinary reader : we have, for example, the little volume of " Exercises " for a week's retreat issued by Fr. Christie, S.J., in 1896. But Father Clare has undertaken a much more serious task. In the 640 pages of this work we find the Exercises in full, with all the additions, annotations, rules and notes of S. Ignatius, together with Fr. Clare's interpretations, evolved in

the course of years of serious thought and continued exposition.

Some of the meditations are considerably amplified, as, for example, that on the prodigal son, in which there are as many as seven meditations. Appendices are added for priests and religious, together with plans for small retreats of eight or four days.

In a work so thorough we might have expected some account of the history and bibliography of the Exercises; and an index is certainly called for.

F. R.

### Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Savonarolas.

III. "Bartolomeo Cerretani." Von JOSEPH SCHNITZER. 8vo., pp., lx.-110. München: Lentner. 1904.

THIS publication is a good instance of the scientific methods of the day. It is not an *ex professo* life of Savonarola. It is the third volume of a series of "quellen und forschungen" edited merely as material for others to undertake a thorough investigation of the life and times of Savonarola. Cerretani was not a man in whose life the public is interested: the interest attaching to him lies in the fact that he gives us valuable information about another, a well-known character on the stage of history; in fact, Leopold Ranke has recorded of him that he was a good historian of Savonarola.

The little volume before us tells us what is known of Cerretani. Then it enters upon a discussion of the two Italian works of this writer, which are important material for the historian of Savonarola. Finally, the two works themselves—the *Storia Fiorentina* and the *Storia in Dialogo della Mutazione de Firenze*—are printed in Italian. Both works deal largely with the laxity of morals in Italy, the reform, Savonarola's struggle, his arrest, trial, and death.

It would be an illusion to imagine that this book will have much sale in England. The ordinary reader prefers to buy a life of Savonarola, which has been written by a competent author, having taken all the available sources into consideration. But even of the very few who desire to go further and examine the sources for themselves, how many are there sufficiently equipped with a knowledge of German and Italian to be able to use profitably a book like this?

J. A. H.



**The Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland.** By WILLIAM CANON FLEMING. London: R. and T. Washbourne. 1904.

THE author having devoted much time to the study of Patrician biographies apologetically puts forward a new work on St. Patrick. No apology is needed. Canon Fleming's book well deserves the careful attention of every client of the Apostle of Ireland. It is based on the first, the fifth, and the seventh of the seven ancient lives of St. Patrick.

Without confusing his readers by learned discussions on the questions, "Did St. Patrick ever exist?" or "Is Patrick the same as Palladius?" the rector of St. Mary's, Moorfields, starts off with the parentage, Celtic origin and birth-place of our saint. According to his latest biographer St. Patrick was born in Boulogne-sur-Mer, a view shared by Lanigan, Alzog and Döllinger. The Saint's captivity, release and journey to Rome are well described, mostly in the words of St. Fiacc, Probus, and the author of the Tripartite Life. Speaking of the Saint's visit to Italy Canon Fleming says, "St. Patrick at once joined the Canons Regular of the Lateran, whose rules were almost identical with those of the monks of Marmoutier, being of the Order of St. Augustine. There he devoted himself to his theological studies for the space of six years." The authority for this statement, which we do not dispute, will be vainly sought for in this new life. The conversion of Ireland takes up one half of the book, and is told in orderly fashion and in measured language. We congratulate Canon Fleming on the successful manner in which he has treated a dry and difficult subject. His book is appropriately dedicated to the Right Rev. Patrick Fenton, the genial and universally beloved Bishop of Amycla.

G. H.

**The Suffering Man-God; or The Divinity of Jesus Christ Resplendent in His Sufferings.** By PERE SERAPHIN, Passionist. Translated by Lilia M. Ward. With Preface by Father Arthur Devine, C.P. London: Burns and Oates.

LESS affective than the classic work on the Passion by the Augustinian Thomas of Jesus, and less discursive than Father Gallwey's book on the same subject, this treatise possesses merits of no mean order. From the preface to the English edition we cull a few words to prove our statement: "It is evident," says Father Devine, speaking of this work, "that it is the result of profound piety, and of fervent and

mature meditation on all the phases of the Passion of our Divine Saviour. He (Père Seraphin) has viewed the Passion in a new, original and learned manner, and has discovered in its smallest details the striking and touching traces of the divinity which they manifest." The author most wisely begins his story of the humiliations of Christ by establishing His divinity. In three distinct paragraphs the most direct and incontrovertible proofs are fully discussed. The ninth chapter of St. Matthew, the eleventh of St. John, and the different accounts of the Resurrection supply the matter for this interesting and convincing investigation. Then the able and pious writer takes up the narrative of the Passion, leads us step by step from Gethsemane to Calvary, and throws across our path the light evidently gained by him in prayer and study. Besides the inspired text we find in this book copious and telling extracts from the Fathers and other ecclesiastical writers. Some of these last will be unfamiliar to many readers, and their words will consequently prove all the fresher and more striking. Each of the sixteen chapters is followed by an Act of Reparation, which will be found exceedingly helpful by those who may take up *The Suffering Man-God* for their book of meditation. The translator has done her work thoroughly. Whilst giving clearly the sense of the original she has clothed it in easy and idiomatic English. An interesting biography of the author from the pen of the well-known Passionist, Father Arthur Devine, adds to the value of this edition.

G. H.

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**A Second Thebaid :** Being a popular account of the ancient Monasteries of Ireland. By the Rev. JAMES P. RUSHE, O.D.C. Dublin : Sealy, Bryers and Walker. London : Burns and Oates. 7s. 6d.

**C**ATHOLIC Ireland justly mourns over the recent demise of her greatest modern hagiologist, Canon O'Hanlon, but she is not left without comfort and hope. A work like the present one shows that she still possesses sons who love and treat effectively the noblest period of her history. *A Second Thebaid* is the realization of hopes awakened in the breast of every reader of an earlier work by the same author, *Carmel in Ireland*. In Fr. Rushe we have a worthy successor to the deeply-regretted writer of *Lives of the Irish Saints*.

From various and frequently recondite sources the Carmelite Friar has compiled a simple and connected narrative, *Religious*

*Houses existent in Ireland prior to the Dissolution.* Of the thirteen chapters composing this volume, three are devoted to the "more ancient sanctuaries and to their saintly founders." It is chiefly on these that the learned author bases Ireland's claim to be recognised as "A Second Thebaid."

Following Father Philip of the Blessed Trinity, the writer tells us that the religious life was introduced into Ireland by St. Palladius who, as a Carmelite, had made a lengthy stay among the solitaries of the Thebaid and under the tuition of St. Pachomius. What St. Palladius began was continued by "the Twelve Founders," and by "the Mary of the Gael," St. Brigid, whose example is "ever revealing to her spiritual children the loveliness of that purity of heart, her special [legacy] to the women of Ireland."

How kindly the Church of St. Palladius and St. Patrick (were they two or one ?) took to asceticism and to the evangelical counsels may be seen by the list of ancient sanctuaries drawn up in chapter iii. Between the fifth and the tenth centuries no less than 194 monasteries and nunneries sprang up, giving glory to God and edification, instruction and assistance to man. In a few pages a vivid and fascinating picture is exhibited of Ireland's pristine glories. This chapter would by itself suffice to establish the author's reputation for talents, wide research and scholarship.

In the fourth chapter we touch the great wave of "religious" revival which broke on the shores of Ireland in the twelfth century. In that and the succeeding ten chapters we are given a catalogue of the pre-Reformation foundations made by the Canons Regular of St. Augustine and St. Norbert, Knights Hospitallers, Trinitarians, Benedictines and Cistercians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Carmelites. The chapters on the Knights Hospitallers of St. John and the Trinitarians are well written. They are replete with allusions to the best families in Ireland, and should lend fresh interest to walks by the ivy-covered ruins of so many dismantled houses of noble generosity, worship and charity. All who may desire to ascertain how much Ireland is indebted to the Monks and to the Friars will find enlightenment in the brilliant chapters on the Benedictines and Cistercians and the four Mendicant Orders. The author unhesitatingly accepts the tradition which makes of Elias the founder of the Carmelite Order, a confidence which causes one to read with some diffidence and amusement the

same writer's remarks on the claims to antiquity put forward by the Canons Regular.

We turned with some fear to the account given of these religious, whose institute and object are so rarely presented with accuracy by writers in Religious Orders. Fr. Rushe has touched this thorny and recondite subject with skill and fidelity to the facts of history—an excellent test, to our mind, of his painstaking erudition. When one sees to-day in Great Britain the modest priories at Spalding and at Stroud Green, London, and recollects that there is not a single house of Canons Regular in Ireland, it is difficult to realize that this latter country once possessed a hundred abbeys and priories of this ancient Order, or that its rule “had to be observed in all the Abbeys over which St. Malachy claimed jurisdiction.” Few till they read Fr. Rushe's glowing pages will have known that “the actual site of Trinity College was once occupied by a priory of Canons Regular, who also built and served God in Christchurch Cathedral, and sat as spiritual barons in the Irish Parliament. Names like those of Glendaburgh and Bangor, Armagh, Anthasul, and Cong, Lucan and Kells have short sketches attached, some of which we are tempted to transfer to these pages. We shall, however, content ourselves with one quotation which links Ireland with England in pleasing relations. “There was,” says our author, “a priory at Inistioige, County Kilkenny, dedicated to our Lady and St. Columba, and built by Thomas Fitzanthony in the year 1206. This good work was undertaken at the suggestion of Hugh Rufus, Bishop of Ossory, who had been himself a Canon Regular in the Abbey of Bodmin, Cornwall.” Abbey is a slip for priory, but the quotation illustrates the vitality of religious establishments, for it was only the other day we read of the Prior of the Bodmin Canons Regular being elected first English Provincial of the Order since its return to England. Before leaving this invaluable portion of *A Second Thebaid*, we may be allowed to express a wish that the relations between the Culdees and the Canons Regular had been more clearly defined.

With a saddening chapter on “The Suppression of the Irish Monasteries,” the work comes to an end. The book is a credit to Catholic Ireland and a valuable contribution to her history. It is well printed on Irish-made paper and handsomely illustrated. Our only regret is that the paper being far too thick, the volume is inconveniently bulky.

G. H.

**Biblische Studien.** (1) *Moses und der Pentateuch.* Von G. HOBERG. Pp. xiv.-124. (2) *Der Jakobusbrief und sein Verfasser.* Von Dr. MAX MEINERTZ. Pp. xvi.-323. (3) *Für und Wider.* Von Dr. M. HÖHLER. Pp. 131. Freiburg : Herder.

**N**OTWITHSTANDING all the books that have been written by the critical school against the Mosaic authorship, there are still champions to be found of the old traditional theory. Of such is Dr. Hoberg. He does not defend the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in its present form, but he claims that Moses was the author of the work in its first edition; and that the Pentateuch we now have is only another edition of the same. A list is given of the principal theories that have been held as to the Mosaic books, whilst the later document hypothesis of Graff and Wellhausen is subjected to special criticism.

The book upon the Epistle of St. James was prepared and written by Dr. Meinertz for the Doctorate in the University of Strasburg. The writer labours rather to settle the personality of St. James, the author of the epistle of that name, than to establish the genuineness of the epistle itself. He concludes that the writer of the epistle is no other than St. James the Apostle. As to whether St. James was an Apostle or not, our author says that the one solution is not to be looked upon as a Catholic, the other as a Protestant one; as a matter of fact, whilst some Catholics hold the non-apostolic rank of the author, some Protestants hold the contrary view. Historical criticism is the judge of the question.

The booklet entitled "*Für und Wider*" is one taken up with a dialogue as to whether there ought to be a reform in the Church or not. "Liberal" Catholics point to recent discoveries, and to what they call the fact of the Church falling behind the age. They are answered by the fact that the Holy Ghost is with the Church always, to teach her and to enable her to teach. The dialogue ends with some eloquent words of the old soldier who takes part in the discussion, in which he professes his belief in the knowledge and prudence of the Church.

J. A. H.

**The Christian Doctrine of Prayer.** By the Right Rev. A. C. A. HALL, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. Small octavo. Pp. xii.-115. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1904.

IT is not often that a theological work on a doctrinal subject, by a Protestant author, is worthy of as much praise from the Catholic reviewer as the present compilation of lectures on prayer. In saying this, however, we must be careful to limit the scope of our words to the first three out of the four chapters that make up the book.

The fourth chapter—prayer in Christ's name—is an ingenious, but scarcely sound, piece of special pleading for the doctrine of prayer in the name of Christ, to God the Father, to the total exclusion of the Catholic practice of the Invocation of the Saints. The author does not deny the possibility of communication between living Christians and the spirits of the faithful departed, but is at great pains to demonstrate the danger of the practice of praying to the Saints. He appeals in a general way to the results in countries where the custom has extensively prevailed, and pretends to see there an obscuring of the distinction between the Uncreated and the created. He sweeps away the undeniable witness of the early Fathers by asserting that, had they foreseen the later developments of the practice, they would have been more guarded in their statements (pp. 88-89). In a word, it seems that in this chapter the author has allowed his prejudices to master his reason; the result is neither flattering to the writer nor edifying to the reader.

Having thus relieved our mind as to Chapter iv., we can deal praise with a free hand to the other three chapters. "The Christian Idea of Prayer," "Prayer According to God's Will," and "Union in Prayer" are the headings. In the first we get an excellent exposition, on sound lines, of the true doctrine of prayer; many difficulties are anticipated, to be formally dealt with and answered in the second chapter; while the third contains, among other good things, an excellent and powerful plea for the validity, antiquity and orthodoxy of the practice of prayer for the dead. These three chapters would be useful to many Catholics, and would often serve the purpose of the preacher.

The list of authorities quoted is extensive and Catholic; we find St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Augustine and St. Gregory included with William Bright, Archbishop Temple and Bishop Gore. An index of authors quoted is given, and a most useful

appendix containing a full list of passages in the New Testament concerning prayer.

The book is well-printed, but the price 3s. 6d. seems rather high. T. W.

**In Loco Parentis :** Chapters on Institution Life and Work. By the Rev. MARSHALL GEORGE VINE, B.A., Warden and Resident Chaplain of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School, Redhill, Surrey. London : John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1905. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS book, by the chaplain of a boys' institution, may be strongly recommended for its sound common sense ; in fact, as regards what is said there is little to criticise, the defects in it being attributable not so much to the author as to the system he represents. Some may perhaps cavil at the stern condemnation of the idea that "boys must not be educated above their station," for many will do better in trade or as artisans than as clerks. The recommendation to insist on all, except those physically incapable, joining in the games is particularly good. The deficiencies mentioned appear in the chapter on "Religion and Morals." For this perhaps the best thing that can be said is that it contains the most salutary advice that can be expected from a religion that has done away with what may be called the sacraments of daily life. Moreover, what sort of religion is that which is definite but not dogmatic? The book is well-printed in large type, but the price seems rather high. D. I.

**On Theological, Biblical and other Subjects.** By ROBERT FLINT, D.D. Edinburgh : William Blackwood. 1905.

THE last two lectures, which are on the duties of Scotchmen towards the Church of Scotland, will be, for the most part, interesting to the inhabitants of North Britain. The first of the two contains a eulogy (pp. 403-404)—qualified no doubt, but still complimentary—of the Catholic Church, which shows that the greatness of that venerable institution is gradually filtering into the minds of those most opposed to her.

The volume opens with a series of lectures entitled "Advice to Students of Divinity" ; a very large proportion of which seems thoroughly sound, and appropriate to aspirants to the ministry in any religious body.



Dr. Flint seems to us, however, all at sea in his views as to ecclesiastical history. His idea is brought out in the following sentence (p. 13): "The Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Cambridge once said to me that he regarded the title of his chair as quite unaffected in meaning by the word Ecclesiastical; that he understood it to mean just what it would have meant if it had been simply history." No doubt this largely depends on what one thinks of the meaning of the word "Church." But a history of the "Church" seems to me just as distinct a subject as that of England or France: incomplete no doubt, as any local history must be, without trenching largely on the histories of other countries.

We found throughout the volume many things with which we could not agree. Thus in the lecture on "Apologetics and Dogmatics," we have the following words (p. 63): "In order that a Church may be truly prosperous its dogmatic theory must be truly progressive." These words are somewhat ambiguous. Do they mean change or development? Do they mean a growth from the seed planted by Christ, or the planting of new seed as time goes on? Do they mean that Christ has taught us all truth; or that we learn new truths as time goes on?

There are many other lectures on the theology of James and Peter, on Socrates, and on the idea of God in Egypt, among the Chinese, and on the Bible. On St. James, we did not think that Dr. Flint very clearly explained the apparent difference between him and St. Paul on Faith and Works.

The essays combine a very liberal standpoint with a good deal of scepticism in some matters of the new criticism.

J. A. H.

**Christus in Ecclesia.** By HASTINGS RASHDALL, D.Litt., D.C.L. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 8vo, pp. ix.-365. 4s. 6d. net. 1904.

"CHRISTUS in Ecclesia" is the title, to our mind not an altogether happy one, which has been given to this volume of sermons preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. As the author points out in the preface, and as would, indeed, be evident to the most cursory reader, the volume is not intended for professional scholars. Its purpose is mainly practical—

intended to help educated men and women to take a more reverent and intelligent part in the services and ordinances of the Church.

Such being the case, it would perhaps be absurd to look for a full and comprehensive treatment of controversial and critical points; and ungracious, too, to complain of any want of thoroughness in such matters. Details of criticism and controversy would be out of place in plain practical sermons.

But where, notwithstanding the author's warning, he does enter upon debatable ground, and attempts, by critical methods, to establish a position in accordance with his own views, we have a right to complain that his treatment is bare, one-sided, and wholly unsatisfactory. Considering the author's position and theological opinions as a Broad Churchman, we naturally must not expect much in the way of definite and positive doctrine, but we are entitled to look for a little more breadth and comprehensiveness in his treatment. A case in point is the fourth sermon, that on Baptism. His airy dismissal of the text of St. Matthew xxviii. 19, embodying the Trinitarian formula, as a perversion or interpolation, is most unsatisfactory and to many will appear unscholarly; his appeal to corroborative evidence from history, especially his reference to Nicholas I., is not exactly what one would expect from an impartial critic. Similarly at fault is his method of dealing with the Eucharist in the third sermon, though here he clearly sees the confusion of thought and language that is involved in the assertion of a Real Presence and a denial of Transubstantiation, or at least consubstantiation. As he believes in neither the Catholic nor the Lutheran doctrine, he consistently and logically falls back upon the real absence.

In connection with this, however, we must note with gratitude the protest which he makes against the use of abusive language so beloved of the good Protestant when he wishes to denounce the "idolatry and superstition" of the Mass. It would be both impossible and useless to single out all the points on which, from the Catholic view, his theology is hopelessly at fault.

On the other hand, if we confine ourselves to his practical teaching, to his treatment of the moral and religious duties of man and the relation these bear to himself as a member of God's Church, then there is much to praise, and, perhaps, but little deserving of adverse criticism.

Taking into account the religious opinions of those who heard the sermons delivered, we think it certain that they and those who think with them would find them solid and useful, a help in many difficulties, and an aid to the realisation of religious truth, up to a certain point, as well as a real assistance in the deepening of religious life and feeling. To the ordinary Catholic they could scarcely be recommended as helpful; to the imperfectly educated they might even be harmful. To the Catholic scholar they are useful as giving an insight into the trend of Broad Church teaching, and interesting as exhibiting clearly the shifts and devices to which a man is reduced when he wishes to rear an edifice of solid piety upon the shaky foundation of Broad Church theology.

G. C.

**Leading Events in the History of the Church (for Children).** By the SISTERS OF NOTRE-DAME. Part IV.: "Modern Times." London: C.T.S. 12mo, pp. 311-493.

THE matter treated is divided into two sections, (1) The Religious Revolution in Europe, (2) Religious Revolution in the British Isles. Under the first heading there is included a useful chapter on the Turks, and an account of the rise of new congregations and the Catholic revival.

In spite of the compendious nature of the work the matter is not over crowded; the arrangement is orderly, the side references helpful, and style interesting and fluent.

F. R.

**Report of the Meetings in Defence of the Athanasian Creed,** which were held in St. James' Hall and in the Hanover Square Rooms, January 31, 1873. Edited by EDGAR C. S. GETSON, D.D. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1s.

THAT this house, while it recognises the truth often overlooked that every man is responsible before God for the faith which he holds, and while it believes that the Scriptural truth is what the Minatory clauses of the *Quicumque Vult* were primarily intended to express, acknowledges nevertheless that in their *prima facie* meaning, and in the mind of many who hear them, those clauses convey a more unqualified statement

than Scripture warrants, and one which is not consonant with the language of the greatest teachers of the Church." Such was the position adopted by the majority of Bishops of Convocation, May 5, 1904, and it was proposed accordingly to modify the present use of the *Quicumque Vult*.

The issue of the pamphlet before us is a kindly warning for Anglicans. In these speeches we find the whole question considered in all its bearings, with the conclusion that any concession to scrupulous consciences would be a victory for the forces of unbelief. Fortunately the question has no immediate interest for Catholics.

F. R.

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**St. Francois de Borgia.** Par PIERRE SUAN. "Les Saints."  
Paris: V. Lecoffre. 1905.

**M.** SUAN, who, during last year and the early part of this, published in the *Etudes Historiques* some careful chapters on the secular career of St. Francis Borgia and also on a part of his religious life, now contributes to this series of biographies the complete story of the great Spaniard who was the second founder of the Society of Jesus. He has made use of sources which none of the many historians of the saint have hitherto utilized, such as the official letters in the archives of Simancas and in the National Library at Paris. This work is a more sober, precise and accurate study of St. Francis than any that have been published. But it does not seem to alter materially our estimate either of his career or of his character. His vice-royalty of Catalonia is more fully described, and later on the enterprises which he undertook in his own territory of Gandia. The curious and little-known history of the University which he founded at Gandia, and which, although fortified with a Bull of Paul III., perished almost in its birth, is here narrated. The incident at Grenada, when he beheld the face of the deceased empress, is given as substantially true, but there seems to be no reason for supposing that he uttered the words usually attributed to him, or that he was in any sense "converted" or "shocked" more than he naturally had already been by the death of one so beautiful and so highly placed. One sees clearly in M. Suan's pages how much the newly founded Society of Jesus owed to St. Francis Borgia. It was at his instance,

whilst yet in the world, that Pope Paul III. did so much for St. Ignatius, and had it not been for him it would hardly have made good any foothold in Spain, for neither Charles V. nor Philip II. was disposed to favour it. The saint's vivacious, rapid and sanguine temperament is well brought out. The spiritual and saintly aspects of his career are dwelt upon in a sympathetic and most Catholic tone. N.

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**Saint Columban.** Par l'ABBÉ EUG. MARTIN. "Les Saints."  
Paris : V. Lecoffre. 1905.

A LEARNED, sympathetic and concise life of the great Irish monastic patriarch, St. Columbanus, was much wanted. In the Abbé Martin, who is already known to the readers of Messrs. Lecoffre's admirable series by his biography of *Saint Leo IX.*, we have a writer who is at once competent and profoundly Catholic. The historical background is skilfully sketched—that turbulent and even barbarous Merovingian Gaul of the sixth century, which was, for all that, so responsive to the ideas of Christianity and civilization. St. Columbanus, who was born in Leinster in 540, began his ascetical life in the monastery of Cluan-Inis, on the Shannon. When he was still young he left his native country, accompanied by twelve of his fellow monks, and after various vicissitudes settled down in Gaul, at Luxeuil—a name that was to become famous. When he was driven from that monastic home by Queen Brunehaut, he went eastwards, through Switzerland, where he left St. Gall behind him, and arrived finally at Bobbio in Northern Italy. Here he laid the foundations of another celebrated cloister, and here he died, in the year 615. The piety and strong character of St. Columbanus are well-known. The letters of his that are still extant show a temperament that urged him, when he thought it needful, to upbraid even the Pope, and that Pope St. Gregory the Great. The Abbé Martin shows us this formidable Irishman in all his relations with his monks, with the Bishops, and with the rulers of Neustria, of Austrasia and of Burgundy. He gives as far as possible in the saint's own words, his rigour, his kindliness, his faith, his protests and his outbursts. With all his irrepressible outspokenness, he was a saint, a born leader of men, and a prophet in his generation. This interesting book is furnished with learned notes which enable the student to follow by the light of the latest historical science the course of

one of the most striking figures of a period which was that of the Apostolate of St. Augustine to Britain. The two great movements seem never to have crossed. But to one who is acquainted with both there is much matter for curious conjecture. It should not be omitted that the author shows an accurate knowledge of Ireland as it was in St. Colambanus' youth, and enters with excellent feeling into the character and aspirations of the Irish race.

N.

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**The Sanctuary of the Faithful Soul.** By the Ven. LUDOVICUS BLOSIUS, O.S.B., (Louis of Blois). Translated from the Latin by the late Father Bertrand Wilberforce, O.P. Westminster: Art and Book Co. 1905.

THE *Conclave animae fidelis*, which is here translated *Sanctuary of the Faithful Soul*, includes four different treatises, each of which has a sub-title of its own. What is given here is only the first of these. There is hardly anything better than Blossius for the formation of the spiritual life. It is not only that he is complete, safe and discreet, but there is an unction in his writing, not lost even in a translation, which always suggests a good deal more than is explicitly stated. Take, for example, chapter eleven of this little treatise, on "Hidden Union with God." After all that has been written on contemplative prayer, acquired or infused, there is in these few pages an exposition full of a devout and profound common-sense to which many readers will gladly turn. They will find in the rest of the book, which is admirably translated, the very best and most pointed advice on conversion, patience, resignation, humility, obedience, self-government, temptation, introversion, &c., not too scientifically marshalled, but with a method in it which perfectly obviates all confusion.

N.

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**Progress in Prayer.** Translated from Père CAUSSADE, S.J., by L. V. SHEEHAN. Adapted and Edited with an Introduction by JOSEPH SORLEY, C.S.P. St. Louis: Herder. 1904.

PÈRE CAUSSADE (✠ 1751) is a recognised authority on the spiritual life. These extracts, or rather adaptations, from his writings on affective prayer, are lucid and simple, and will be useful to all who study mystical theology. There is an

interesting historical introduction, by the Paulist Father Joseph Sorley, which points out how the Quietist controversy of the seventeenth century led to a reaction against contemplative prayer which went too far. N.

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**Le Livre de la Bonté.** Par G. MARQUIS. Paris : C. Douniol. 1905.

THE author writes piously and charmingly on kindness—kind words, kind actions, the objects of kindness, its hindrances, its personal results, the example of our Lord, &c. N.

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**The Mysteries of the Holy Rosary.** Freiburg : B. Herder. 1905.

A NEAT little hand-book of rosary devotion, with illustrations. There are several forms of prayer added, such as the litany of Loreto. There is a curious muddle in the translation of the *Memorare* (p. 52) ; “Before thee I stand sinful and sorrowful, O Mother of the Word Incarnate *and* despise not my petitions.” There should be a full stop after “sorrowful,” and no “and.” A number of indulgenced ejaculations are given at the end of the book, but they contain several inaccuracies. N.

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**Manuale Ambrosianum :** Ex codice saec. XI., olim in usum canonicae vallis Travaliae; in duas partes distinctum. Edidit Doctor MARCUS MAGISTRETTI, v. Capituli rr. Beneficiorum officialium et ss. Caeremoniarum Metropolitanae Mediolanen, Praefectus. Mediolani apud Ulricum Hoepli, Bibliopolam. MDCCCCV.

ALL liturgical students owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Marco Magistretti for having edited these two magnificent volumes. They will be a most valuable addition to our books on the ancient rites of the Church. Dr. Magistretti is well known, for already he has given us an edition of the ninth century Ambrosian Pontifical, and also of the Ordo of Beroldus. The *Manuale* is one of the most important of the Ambrosian books; to those who are acquainted with the old English service books, this title suggests a book of occasional offices only, for the old English *Manuale* answered in every respect to



what we now know under the name of *Rituale*: but the Ambrosian *Manuale* although it contains what the *Rituale* contains, is a great deal more than this. It may be described as a compendium of all the public services, or as an Antiphoner without music, for it contains the parts of the Mass and office which are sung by the choir (but without the notes) and also the prayers of the office (not of the Mass) and the hymns. The most ancient manuscript of this *Manuale* is preserved in the Metropolitan Library at Milan. It is of the eleventh century, and this it is which has been reproduced by Dr. Magistretti, who has added offices for the "*Agenda Mortuorum*," "*Officium Parvum*, B.V.M.," and an "*Expositio Matutini Officii*," etc., from ten other manuscripts of the *Manuale*, most of which are in the Ambrosian Library. The whole of the Psalter has been added also, and a most excellent introduction from which all who will may gain a very complete knowledge of the Ambrosian rite; and comparing this book with the Missal and Breviary now in use at Milan may see what changes have in the course of ten centuries been introduced. It is true however that many changes had been made before the time of Charlemagne, so that the primitive state of the liturgy can only be a matter of conjecture.

The Ambrosian rite derives its name from St. Ambrose; although what part he took in its compilation or arrangement we know not. We do, however, know, from St. Augustine, that he composed and introduced into the service of the Basilica "*Hymni et Psalmi ut Canerentur Secundum Morem Orientalium Partium*." Paulinus the Deacon ascribes to him the introduction of the office of "*Vigiliae*:" "*Hoc in tempore primum antiphonae, hymni, et vigiliae in Ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrare coeperunt, cujus celebritatis devotio usque in hodiernum diem non solus in eadem Ecclesia verum per omnes paene occidentis provincias manet*."

Many things in these "*Vigiliae*" were taken from Eastern sources, for Ambrose was in sympathy more Greek than Latin, although in nature and character he was thoroughly Roman. It is possible that the arrangement of the psalter may be derived from St. Ambrose. We have no manuscripts remaining earlier than the ninth century. The first episode in the history of the rite is related by Landulf in his "*History of the Bishops of Milan*" (eleventh century). He tells us that in the time of Charlemagne and Pope Hadrian, a synod of Bishops was held in

Rome, many of whom wished for the abolition of the Ambrosian rite, and Charlemagne ordered that all the Ambrosian books should be burnt or sent away "quasi in exilium." Bishop Eugenius, however, out of reverence for the memory of St. Ambrose, used his influence with the Pope and Charlemagne to bring them to a better mind. The matter was to be settled thus: on the altar were placed two manuscripts, one of the Roman, the other of the Ambrosian rite, and it was determined that whichever opened of its own accord should be retained and the other abolished: both however opened simultaneously.

Eugenius then went to Milan but could only find one manuscript sacramentary, which had been hidden by a priest. The *Manuale* was reconstructed from memory by priests and clerks. This story must be taken with caution, but it is very possible that Charlemagne in his zeal for the Roman rite attacked that of St. Ambrose.

The fewness of the remaining manuscripts is partly due to the remodelling which the liturgy has undergone to bring it more into harmony with the Roman; but we must not forget the numerous fires which at various times destroyed parts of the city of Milan. Landulf junior says: "*Quis potest enarrare combustiones, desolationes, abominationes, quae combusserunt et desolaverunt Mediolanum et regnum et ipsum sacerdotium tempore quo lex presbyteri Leprandi venit in ambigua?*"

Other attempts were made to abolish the Ambrosian rite in the eleventh century under Nicholas II., and Gregory VII., and also under Eugenius IV. in the fifteenth. On the other hand during the middle ages the Ambrosian rite was not only used throughout the diocese of Milan, but it had great influence in other places, as, for instance, in the diocese of Augsburg, in whose Breviary it left many traces. We see its influence also in Switzerland, and we may say also in some of the English books. The Emperor Charles V. introduced it into the church of St. Ambrose at Prague. In spite of the destruction which has befallen the ancient manuscripts, a certain number still remain; among others, a copy of the Missal of the tenth century is in the Ambrosian Library; also one of the eleventh century. Another, also of the eleventh century, is in the treasury of Monza.

Three copies of the Pontifical, at least, exist, which have been edited by Dr. Magistretti. A "*Pars Hiemalis*" of the Antiphoner of the eleventh or twelfth century is preserved

in the British Museum, which has been published in facsimile by the Solesmes Benedictines in the *Palaeographie Musicale*, vols. v. and vi., together with a most valuable preface of over 200 pages. This contains the music both of Mass and Office. At Milan there seems to have been no distinction between what we should now call the "Graduale" and "Antiphonarium." A fourteenth century Antiphoner is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Lat. Liturg. a, 4).

There is no space here to enter into any description of the peculiarities of the Ambrosian Liturgy, which, in spite of alterations, still differs very widely from the Roman. The following points may be noticed. The Liturgical year begins on St. Martin's day, and Advent consists of six weeks. The first of January is called the Octave of Christmas. The first four days of Holy Week are called "In Authentica." The Sunday after Easter is "Dominica in Albis Depositis." The Rogation days are kept just before Pentecost, and on these days a "Missa Sicca" was said, consisting of Collect, Epistle, Gradual, Gospel and Dominus Vobiscum, after which the procession started. The Sundays after Pentecost are still thus reckoned, fifteen Sundays after Pentecost, five after the beheading of St. John, one before the Dedication, and three after the Dedication. The Psalms in the Divine Office are not said through in one week, but once in a fortnight.

G. W.

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**Compendium Caeremoniarum**, sacerdote et ministris sacris observandarum in sacro ministerio. Auctore, MELCH. HAUSHERR, S.J. Editio quarta secundum novissima S.R.C. decreta emendata a P. AUG. LEHMKUHL, S.J. B. Herder.

**T**HIS little book certainly fulfils its author's intention of compressing the rubrics into a very small space, and there is a good deal put into the space. Moreover, with the excellent index there is no difficulty in finding what is wanted. As the rubrics are generally grouped together under their different heads, and not put out at length, the book would seem to be of more use to priests looking over and correcting their ceremonies than to those who are just learning to say Mass. In looking through the book one or two points have been noticed to which exception may be taken. For example, on page 15 we are told that the hands, already extended, are to be

raised and joined. How does this agree with the Missal rubric at the commencement of the Canon telling one to extend, raise and join hands? How are they to be extended if not first joined? In the duplication directions for Christmas Day (p. 51) we are told to partly fold the corporal after the communion, and put the purificator by the corporal. The authority for this is a decree of September 16, 1815. There is a decree of September 12, 1857, quoted in the West. Synods, which tells us to put the purificator, paten, pall and veil on the chalice, and put it, thus covered, on the extended corporal. The directions for Benediction are of little use to us as they differ considerably from those of our Ritus. Notwithstanding these and possibly other defects the book is a handy and useful one.

D. I.

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**Cities of India.** By G. W. FORREST, C.I.E. London: Archibald Constable & Co. 1905.

THIS handsome volume, with its wealth of illustrations, stands on a different footing from those that sum up the hasty impressions of the average tourist during a "cold weather" trip. Mr. Forrest, as Director of Records to the Government of India, had access to the fundamental materials of its history, and has published many valuable volumes compiled from the State papers under his charge. He here sketches for us in outline the story of each city and province to which he constitutes himself our guide, calling up scenes from its past life to add interest to the views of its architecture and scenery that illustrate his text. We learn something from his pages, and do not merely look at them. Yet even a cursory glance is suggestive, from the immense variety of monumental beauty representative of the different races, creeds and epochs, which have left their traces on the soil of Hindustan. From the splendid modern buildings of Bombay we pass to the fantastic beauty of Hindu architecture in Jeypur, and the massive grandeur of Fattchpur-Sikhri the summer capital of the great Akbar. A different class of interest attaches to the rough sketch of John Nicholson's tomb, associated with a heroic memory. The author accompanied Lord Roberts on his visit before leaving India to his comrade's last resting place. "As we approached the Cashmere Gate (he says) Lord Roberts

expressed his intention of paying a last visit to the grave of John Nicholson, for his 'forty-one years' service in India' had been completed, and he was on his way home. Thirty-six years before, the Commander-in-Chief, then a subaltern in the Bengal Artillery, had marched out of Delhi, the morning of Nicholson's funeral. 'It was a matter of regret to me,' he writes in his modest autobiography, 'that I was unable to pay a last tribute of respect to my loved and honoured friend and commander by following his body to the grave, but I could not leave the column.' The old cemetery stands by the road, and is surrounded by lofty trees. The inside is bright with budding flowers and roses. Near the entrance is the grave of John Nicholson. A few roses were placed on the tomb of his old comrade, and he stood for many minutes gazing at the tomb of his loved and honoured friend. . . . 'I never saw anyone like him,' was the only remark that broke the silence."

E. M. C.

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**Brother and Sister.** By JEAN CHARRUAU, S.J. Translated by S. T. Otten. Freiburg im Breisgau: B. Herder. 1904.

THIS touching picture of a sister's devotion is written in the form of an autobiography, with a verisimilitude that almost persuades one it is real or has at least a basis of reality. The childhood and early years of the principal characters amid the surroundings of French rural life are vividly portrayed, and not less true, unfortunately, is the picture of the rapid deterioration of the hero's character when released from better influences and transplanted to the freedom and temptations of Paris. Rapid, indeed, is his downfall, and grievous the facility with which the plunge into vice is taken and faith thrown off with innocence. Every form of principle and honour disappears, glib falsehoods are told without hesitation, and money for the expenses of the new life is obtained by unscrupulously trading on the good nature of a wealthy sister-in-law. Only by the sacrifice of the angel-sister's life is the reclamation of the prodigal effected in the end, and to her prayers after death is granted the almost miraculous conversion it was not given her to see in life. Her character, drawn with exquisite grace and delicacy, serves as a foil to the moral weakness of the erring brother, so easily led astray when

removed from her loving care and companionship. The translator has done his work well, save for the trifling solecism of calling a pony throughout a "little horse."

E. M. C.

**Outlines of the Life of Christ.** By W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Lady Margaret Professor and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Hon. Fellow of Exeter Coll., Fellow of the British Academy, Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1905. 8vo., pp. 241.

THIS is a reprint of Dr. Sanday's now well-known article, "Jesus Christ," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. It is now some six years old, and the author has not attempted to bring it up to date, as he is "engaged on a larger work on the same subject." We find on the virgin-birth of our Lord, for instance, the statement: "The historical value of the documents, especially Luke i. 2, has been gradually rising in the estimation of scholars"; and then an addition in brackets: "The most recent period (1901-1904) would have to be differently characterised."

This essay has been widely and deservedly praised, and should be read by every serious student of the New Testament. It has its obvious faults. The style is not interesting, and frequently reminds us that it is an extract from a dictionary. Sometimes the conclusions are so temperate as to be simply flat. Sometimes the objections of higher critics are supposed to be known to the reader, and a very obvious refutation is given, which to one who is not well up in the subject may seem too obvious to be worth writing or reading. But, on the whole, the book is the more valuable a defence of the conservative position because it is so moderate in tone.

Dr. Sanday writes as a critic for critics (though in the simplest possible style), and not for edification. He goes further in admitting the possibility of error in the Gospels than Catholic critics will probably allow—much further than do the conservatives in Germany. But he does not seem to be certain that any such error need be accepted as certain. As an answer to modern critical views the Catholic reader will certainly find the German Dominican, Father Rose's *Studies in the Gospels* more useful and more interesting, although he is not quite so studiously simple in language as Dr. Sanday. But for those who wish to study the four Gospels as historical documents giving a con-

nected history of our Lord's life, Dr. Sanday provides an admirable skeleton guide. But he should not be read as an infallible teacher, nor would he wish it.

The last page contains a sentence that should be quoted :

"To write the life of Christ ideally is impossible. And even to write such a *Life* as should justify itself either for popular use or for study, is a task of extreme difficulty. After all the learning, ability, and even genius devoted to the subject, it is a relief to turn back from the very best of modern *Lives* to the Gospels. And great as are the merits of many of these modern works, there is none (at least, none known to the writer—and there are several that he ought to know, but does not) which possess such a balance and combination of qualities as to rise quite to the level of a classic. What is wanted is a Newman, with science and adequate knowledge."

J. C.

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**Excursions Artistiques et Littéraires.** Par le R. P. GASTON SORTAIS, S.J. Paris : Lethielleux. Première série, pp. 257. Seconde série, pp. 287.

THESE essays are reprinted from the *Etudes* of the Jesuit Fathers. The former volume contains a dialogue in which the writer attempts to reproduce the last work of St. Augustine, *De pulchro et apto*. Then follow articles on classical archæology, some rather poor verses on *Les trois Romes*, and others on the frescoes of the *Cæmeterium Priscillæ*, on Adam of St. Victor, and Jacapone da Todi, etc. The chief essays in the second series are that on Pinturicchio and the Umbrian school, and an interesting one on the orator Berryer. The volume contains also two short "appreciations" of La Bruyère and Buffon, an account of the art collection bequeathed to the city of Paris by the brothers Dutuit, and a criticism of the poet Gray, whose fame the writer attributed wholly to the *Elegy*. He does not realise that Gray as a letter-writer stands beside Walpole and Cowper, and would live, even had he never given to the world his small and laboured meed of verses. Père Sortais writes well, but his essays are hardly likely to be much read in England.

J. C.



**Eadmeri Monachi Cantuariensis Tractatus de Conceptione**

**S. Mariæ**, olim S. Anselmo attributus, nunc primum integer ad codicum fidem. Editus, adjectis quibusdam documentis coætaneis a P. HERB. THURSTON et P. TH. SLATER, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1904. Pp. xl.-104, 16mo. 1s.

**T**HOSE who have omitted to procure this little book, published in the jubilee year of the Definition of the Immaculate Conception, may be reminded by this belated review to repair their omission. We must be proud that an Englishman is the author of the first treatise devoted to the proof of our Blessed Lady's unique privilege. But we should, perhaps, be ashamed that a really good text of it has never been published before, and our thanks are due to the editors of this little booklet for presenting to us Eadmer's fine tractate in its original form from a contemporary, or almost contemporary, MS. (written at Canterbury, where he passed his monastic life), which is now preserved with Archbishop Parker's MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Readings of several codices only a century later are given at the foot of the page. The preface by Father Slater gives a slight sketch of the influence exercised by the treatise in the Middle Ages, while a dissertation by Fr. Thurston establishes its authorship. A series of documents is added in an appendix: two letters and a sermon by Osbert of Clare, a few ancient collects, and a series of narrations of the origin of the feast, one by William of Malmesbury, another attributed to Anselm the younger, Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's and Bishop of London. These interesting documents are printed for the first time. J. C.

**La Crise du Libéralisme et la Liberté d'Enseignement.**

Paris: P. Lethiellieux, Libraire-Editeur, 10, Rue Cassette.

**T**HIS is a book which is more likely to be appreciated by certain sections of the French than of the English public, seeing that it deals with a state of things in France which, from the standpoint of English liberalism, seems to contradict its own avowed principles. The author attacks French political liberalism with some effect when he shows that its actions belie its professed principles. But its defenders would probably answer that, in war to the knife, liberalism must defend itself by the temporary suspension of those principles, and that "clericalism" can only be met with its own weapons of in-

tolerance and persecution. The author also makes points against Rousseau's abstractions and against the pretence that the young can be educated without prejudice of some kind, either for good or evil. But again he misses the point, which is that the difference consists in the fact that, in the one case, a set of hard and fast principles, philosophical, political, &c., are laid down as absolute and final, and, in the other case, one of the first principles is that none are absolute or final, containing thus within themselves the corrective of their own errors. It is this oversight on the writer's part which renders his whole work nugatory, as it does so many others written on similar lines.

H.C.C.

An exceedingly useful little volume is L'EVANGÉLAIRE DES DIMANCHES (*Lethielleux*), an explanatory, dogmatic and mystical exposition of the fifty-two Sunday Gospels. The book is embellished with many plates, and will prove of great service to the priest and to his flock. Father C. Broussole is to be congratulated upon his new expository plan and the signal success with which he has carried it out.

We have noticed the two previous volumes of the Mount Melleray SUMMULA PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE (*Browne and Nolan*) in this Review. The present volume on "Theologia Naturalis" (Pars Prior) keeps up in every way the excellent standard already attained. It treats on distinctively scholastic lines the main topics of Natural Theology and furnishes a wealth of notes similar to that which characterise the Logical and Metaphysical parts of the work.

*Messrs. Methuen and Co.* have issued a charmingly gotten up volume—A BOOK CALLED IN LATIN ENCHIRIDION MILITIS CHRISTIANI, AND IN ENGLISH THE MANUAL OF THE CHRISTIAN KNIGHT—with Erasmus' dedicatory epistle to "the Reverend Father in Christ (and Lord), the Lord Paul Wolzius, the most religious Abbot. . ." It is, as its title implies, a handbook for the Christian, and cannot be read in this twentieth century without profit as well as pleasure.

THE ETERNAL LIFE, by the Professor of Psychology at Harvard, is a lay sermon upon that absorbing subject of immortality, published uniformly with other little books upon the same topic by *Constable and Co.* Professor Münsterberg, a man of science and a philosopher, finds the eternity of life in the "will-attitudes" which are incommensurate with time. The eternity of "values"

and the attitude of will towards them constitute an eternal life beyond the confines of space. It is a mystical little book.

*Messrs. Methuen and Co.* have published a volume on IVORIES by Alfred Maskell, F.S.A. It is in every way an *édition de luxe*, well printed and bound, and containing a wonderful collection of illustrations of carved ivories from rude pre-historic examples to the perfect specimens of later date. Hardly a period of history, hardly a country but is fully represented in this exhaustive study. There are excellent tables and a bibliography for those who wish to pursue a fascinating study of this branch of art further than Mr. Maskell guides them. But his book of 443 pages and the 88 plates really leave little to be desired.

THE SAYINGS OF MUHAMMED (*Archibald Constable*) is a little volume of selected sayings of the Prophet of Islam. The editor, Abdullah al-Mamun al-Suhrawardy, has chosen 451 of the authentic utterances to present to the English reading public. In a foreword he states that the collection is not a fair sample of the whole. Some of the sayings are beautiful; most are full of observation and common sense.

IN THE TRANSPLANTING OF TESSIE (*Benziger Bros.*) Miss Mary T. Waggaman tells a pretty tale of the influence of a little child upon a family. The book is quite up to her usual standard, the story well and simply told, and we welcome it as an addition to the literature of our little ones.

A tale of adventure—the scene laid among the French and Indians in the early days of the New France, THE RACE FOR COPPER ISLAND (*Benziger*), by Fr. Henry S. Spalding, S.J., is another excellent book to add to the boys' shelf. We have waited for a Catholic Henty for a long time. Books like this will go a long way to satisfy the want.

From *Messrs. Benziger* also comes a collection of stories by the foremost Catholic writers, entitled THE SENIOR LIEUTENANT'S WAGER. They are short, well-chosen, and eminently readable. Many of the authors' names are well known, and the thirty tales included in the volume, though of course unequal in merit, are all good.

We notice THE PASSPORT (*Methuen and Co.*), a novel by Richard Bagot. The scene is laid in and near Rome. It is strong in local colouring and the characters are well drawn. The plot is not altogether a new one, though it is handled with some dexterity. We cannot commend Mr. Bagot's ill-disguised dislike for the late Pope: and, to our mind, his book would not suffer were several paragraphs and expressions entirely omitted.

## Books Received.

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**Ivories.** By Afred Maskell, F.S.A. London : Methuen and Co. Pp. xiii.-443 ( $10\frac{1}{4}$  by  $7\frac{1}{2}$ ). 25s. net.

**The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire.** By John Pentland Mahaffy, C.V.O., D.D., etc. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1905. Pp. vii.-154 ( $7\frac{3}{4}$  by  $5\frac{1}{4}$ ). 5s. net.

**Souvenirs Politiques (1871-1877.)** Par le Vicomte de Meaux. Paris : Plon-Nourrit. 1905. Pp. iv.-419 (9 by  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ).

**The Holy Catholic Church : Her Faith, Works, Triumphs.** By a Convert. London : Burns and Oates. 1905. Pp. xvi.-356 ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  by 5). 3s. 6d.

**A Brief Survey of British History.** By C. E. Snowden, M.A. London : Methuen and Co. Pp. xii.-158 (9 by  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ). 4s. 6d.

**Septem Psalmi Pœnitentiales.** Versio Elegiaca (Editio Altera). Facta a Richardo Johnson Walker. London : Wertheimer. MCMV. Pp. xlvii. ( $5\frac{1}{2}$  by 4), 5s.

**Certainty in Religion.** By Rev. Henry H. Wyman, Paulist. New York : Columbus Press. 1905. Pp. 119 (6 by 4). 10 cents.

**Saint Columban—Vers 540-615.** "Les Saints." Par l'Abbé Eug. Martin. Paris : V. Lecoffre. 1905. Pp. vi.-199 ( $7\frac{1}{4}$  by  $4\frac{3}{4}$ ).

**St. François de Borgia (1510-1572).** Par Pierre Suan. Paris : V. Lecoffre. 1905. Pp. v.-204 ( $7\frac{1}{4}$  by  $4\frac{3}{4}$ ).

**Via Veritatis** : Lectures on Topics of Catholic Doctrine. By the Rev. P. M. Northcote, O.S.M. Westminster : Art and Book Co. MCMV. Pp. vii.-120 (7 by 5).

**The Truth of Christianity.** (Fifth Edition). Compiled from various sources by Lt.-Col. W. H. Turton, D.S.O. London : Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co. 1905. Pp. 529 (7½ by 5). 2s. 6d. net.

**The Senior Lieutenant's Wager,** and other Stories. By various Authors. New York : Benziger Bros. 1905. Pp. 256 (8 by 5¼). 5s.

**The Abhorred Shears.** By F. Osborn Fitzwilliam. Cork : Foreman. 1905. Pp. 78 (6¾ by 4). 1s. 6d. net.

**Cardiff Records.** Vol. V. Edited by John Hobson Matthews. Cardiff : Published by order of the Corporation, and sold by H. Sotheran and Co. With two Maps. Pp. xvi.-598 (11 by 8).

**A Grammar of Plain Song** (in two parts). By the Benedictines of Stanbrook. London : Burns and Oates. 1905. Pp. 114 (8½ by 5½). 2s. 3d. net.

**The Pearl of York.** A Drama in Five Acts. By the Benedictines of Stanbrook. Stanbrook. 1904. Pp. v.-140 (7½ by 5). 2s. 6d. net.

**Le Livre de la Bonté.** Par G. Marquis. Paris : P. Téqui. 1905. Pp. viii.-144 (7¼ by 4¼).

**Le Curé d'Ars.** Two Vols. Par l'Abbé Alfred Monnin. Paris : P. Téqui. 1905. Pp. xxiii.-443, 560 (7¼ by 4¼).

**A History of Egypt.** Vol. III. From the Nineteenth to the Thirtieth Dynasties. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. London : Methuen and Co. Pp. xx.-406 (7¾ by 5). 6s.

**L'Evangélaire des Dimanches.** Par J. C. Broussolle. Paris : Lethielleux. Pp. xvi.-418 (8 by 5). 4 fr.

**Lives of the English Martyrs.** Vol. II. Martyrs under Elizabeth. Completed and Edited by Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B. London : Burns and Oates. 1905. Pp. lxii.-691 (7½ by 5). 7s. 6d. net.

**Infallibility.** By Rev. Vincent McNabb, O.P. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1905. Pp. xii.-86 ( $7\frac{1}{4}$  by 5). 1s. net.

**The Burden of Demos,** and other Verses. By Mary Alice Vialis. London: David Nutt. 1905. Pp. viii.-63 ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  by 5). 1s.

**Inquisition et Inquisitions** (Conférences). Par l'Abbé L. A. Gaffre. Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 1905. Pp. 391 ( $7\frac{1}{4}$  by  $4\frac{3}{4}$ ). 3.50 fr.

**Henry the Third and the Church.** A Study of his Ecclesiastical Policy and of the Relations between England and Rome. By Abbot Gasquet, D.D. London: George Bell and Sons. 1905. Pp. xvi.-446 (9 by 6). 12s. net.

**Johannine Vocabulary.** A comparison of the Words of the Fourth Gospel with those of the Three. By Edwin A. Abbot. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1905. Pp. xviii.-364 (9 by 6). 13s. 6d. net

**L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin.** Par M. Roger. Paris: Picard et Fils. 1905. Pp. xviii.-457 (10 by  $6\frac{1}{2}$ ).

**The Appellate Jurisdiction of the House of Lords and of the Free Parliament.** By J. W. Gordon. London: John Murray. 1905. Pp. 46 ( $8\frac{3}{4}$  by  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ) 2s. 6d. net.

**Qu'est-ce que cela veut Dire?** Par H. P. Sligo de Pothonier. London: Sands and Co. Pp. xviii.-351 ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  by 4).

**A Treasury of Love.** Selected by Albert Broadbent. Manchester: A. Broadbent. 1905. Pp. 43 (6 by 3).

**A Russell Lowell Treasury.** Selected by Albert Broadbent. Manchester: A. Broadbent. 1904. Pp. 44 (6 by 3).

**Outline Conferences for Children of Mary.** By Father J. Dahlmann. London: Burns and Oates. 1905. Pp. viii.-142 ( $6\frac{3}{4}$  by  $4\frac{1}{4}$ ). 2s. 6d.

**Joan of Arc.** By the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell-Scott. London: Sands and Co. 1905. Pp. 106 ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $5\frac{1}{4}$ ). 2s. 6d. net.

- Drawing from Models and Objects.** By John Carroll. London: Burns and Oates. 1905. Pp. x.-108 (7 $\frac{1}{4}$  by 5). 2s. 6d.
- St. Catherine de Ricci: Her Life, Her Letters, Her Community.** By F. M. Capes. London: Burns and Oates. Pp. xlv.-282 (9 by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ). 7s. 6d. net.
- Architecture and its Place in a Liberal Education.** By Banister F. Fletcher, F.R.I., B.A. London: B. T. Batsford. Pp. 32 (9 by 6). 1s. net.
- The Nun's Rule.** Being the Ancren Riwle Modernised. By James Morton. London: Burns and Oates. 1905. Pp. xxvii.-339 (6 $\frac{1}{4}$  by 5). 3s. 6d. net.
- The Doctrine of God.** Second Edition. By the Rev. Francis J. Hall, D.D. Milwaukee: Young Churchman Co. 1905. Pp. xii.-166 (7 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ).
- L'Objet de la Métaphysique.** Selon Kant et Selon Aristotle. Par C. Seutroul, M.D. Louvain: Institut Supérieur. 1905. Pp. xii.-240 (9 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ).
- Luther und Luthertum.** Von P. Heinrich Denifle, O.P. Mainz: Kirchheim. 1905. Pp. xx.-380 (9 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ). 5'50 marks.
- L'Histoire, le Texte et la Destinée du Concordat de 1801.** Par l'Abbé Em. Sévestre. Paris: Lethielleux. Pp. xxiv.-702 (9 by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ).
- Letters on Christian Doctrine.** By F. M. de Zulueta, S.J. London: Washbourne. 1905. Pp. viii.-414 (7 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 5). 2s. 6d. net.
- I Salmi.** Seconda Edizione. Da Salvatore Minocchi. Roma: Pustet. 1905. Pp. xxxi.-444 (7 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 5).
- Driven.** By Margaret Watson. London: Unwin. MCMV. Pp. 299 (7 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 5). 6s.
- L'Année des Malades.** Two Vols. Par la Comtesse de Flavigny. Paris: Lethielleux. Pp. xvi.-232-216 (6 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 5).
- The Gospel Story for Catholic Homes.** By B. F. C. Costelloe, M.A. London: Catholic Truth Society. Pp. xii.-435 (7 by 5). 1s. net.



- Rex Meus.** By the Author of "My Queen and My Mother." Westminster : Art and Book Co. MCMV. Pp. xiv.-183 (7 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 5).
- The Eternal Life.** By Hugo Münsterberg. London : Constable and Co. 1905. Pp. 102 (6 by 4). 2s. 6d.
- The Immortality of the Soul.** "Westminster Lectures." By the Rev. Francis Aveling, D.D. London : Sands and Co. 1905. Pp. 69 (7 $\frac{1}{4}$  by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ). 6d. net.
- Simple Aids to the Devout Recitation of the Rosary.** By the Right Rev. Joseph Oswald Smith. London : Catholic Truth Society. 1905. Pp. 88 (5 by 4). 6d. net.
- A Book called in Latin **Enchiridion Militis Christiani**; and in English **The Manual of the Christian Knight.** By Erasmus of Rotterdam. London : Methuen. Pp. 286 (7 by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ). 3s. 6d. net.
- Summula Philosophiæ Scholasticæ in usum Adolescentium Seminarii B. Mariæ de Monte Melleario.** Vol. III. Pars Prior : Theologia Naturalis. Dublinii : Browne and Nolan. 1905. Pp. iv.-234 (8 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ). 2s. net.
- The Epistles and Gospels :** Arranged and Edited by the Very Rev. Richard A. O'Gorman, O.S.A. London : R. and T. Washbourne. 1905. Pp. 265. 1s. 6d.
- Conseils aux Parents et aux Maitres sur l'Éducation de la Pureté.** 4me. Édition. Par J. Fonssagrives. Paris : Poussielgue. 1905. Pp. 138 (7 $\frac{1}{4}$  by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ).
- Le Vice et ses Risques.** Par J. Fonssagrives. Paris : Poussielgue. 1905. Pp. 69 (7 $\frac{1}{4}$  by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ).
- Modern Freethought.** "Westminster Lectures." By the Rev. J. Gerard, S.J. London : Sands and Co. 1905. Pp. 54 (7 $\frac{1}{4}$  by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ). 6d. net.
- The Freedom of the Will.** "Westminster Lectures." By the Rev. A. B. Sharpe, M.A. London : Sands and Co. 1905. Pp. 53 (7 $\frac{1}{4}$  by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ). 6d. net.
- Elizabeth Seton : Her Life and Work.** By Agnes Sadlier. New York : D. and J. Sadlier and Co. Pp. iv.-289 (7 $\frac{1}{4}$  by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ). \$1 net.

**Correspondance du Comte de la Forest.** Tome I. Par M. Geoffroy de Grandmaison. Paris : A. Picard et Fils. 1905. Pp. xlv.-456 (9 by 5).

**Heysham.** A Story of North Lancashire in the Thirteenth Century. By the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Robert Gradwell. London : Burns and Oates. Pp. 127. 1s. 6d.

**The Council School Hymn Book.** London : Novello and Co. 1905. Pp. 152 (5 by 4½).

**The Patient Man.** By Percy White. London : Methuen and Co. Pp. 312 (8 by 5). 6s.

**The Passport.** By Richard Bagot. London : Methuen and Co. Pp. 399 (8 by 5). 6s.

**The Apple of Discord : or, Temporal Power in the Catholic Church.** By a Roman Catholic. Buffalo, N.Y. : The Apple of Discord Co. 1905. Pp. 495 (8 by 5).

**Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum.** Edidit Henricus Denziger. Editio IX., aucta et emendata ab Ignatio Stahl. Friburgi : Herder. Pp. xvi.-486.

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